



Gernot Wilhelm

THE HURRIANS

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Gernot Wilhelm

THE HURRIANS

translated from German by
JENNIFER BARNES

with a chapter by
DIANA L. STEIN

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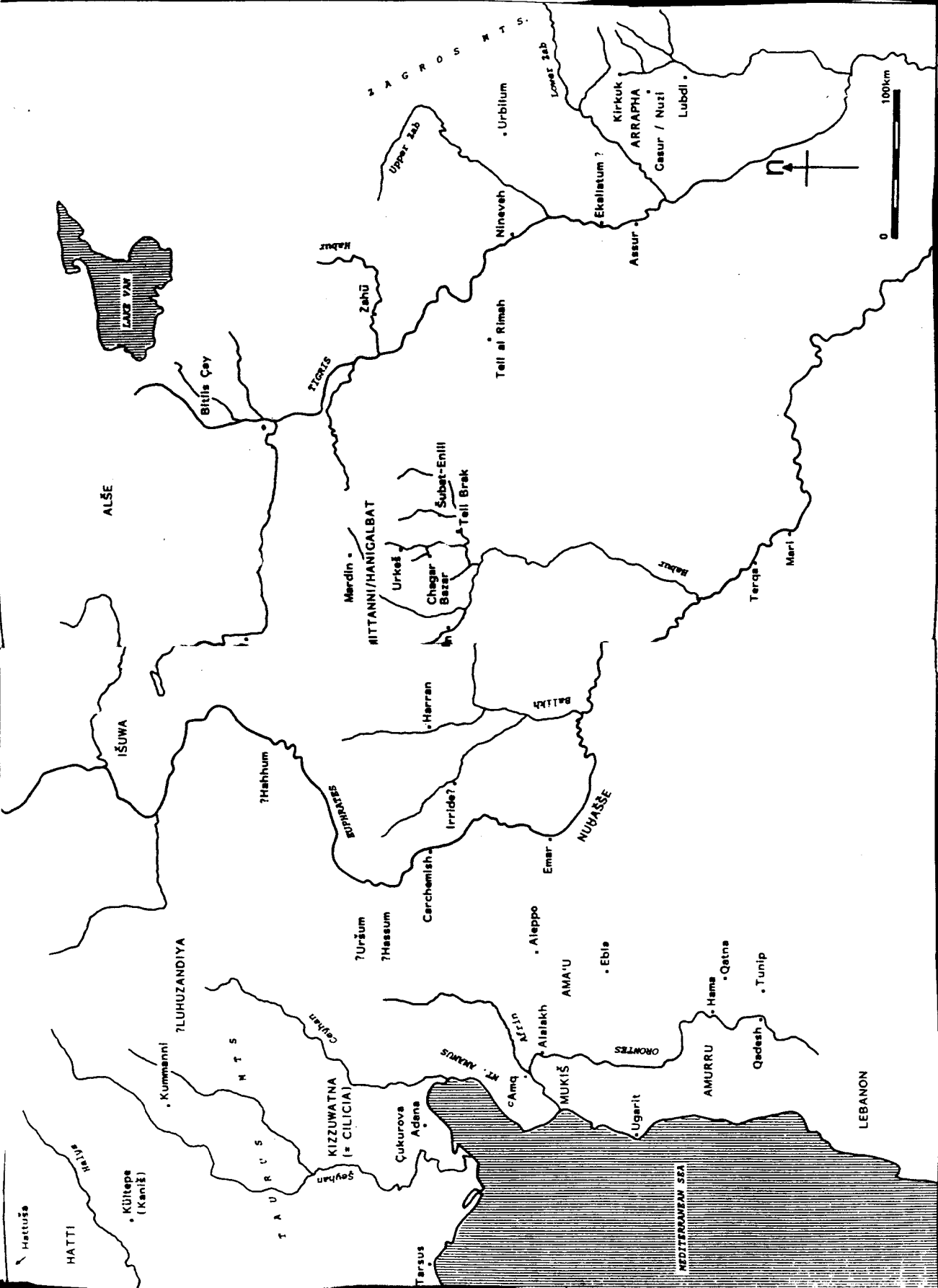
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PREFACE

The Hurrians were one of the most important ancient Eastern civilisations, and yet we have far less information, linguistic as well as historical and cultural, about them than we do about the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Hittites, or the Canaanites. However, the very contradiction between the obvious importance of the Hurrian role in the ancient Eastern world and the fragmentary evidence about it has given rise to a variety of assessments and even to rank speculation. A critical appraisal of the results achieved so far in Hurrian research seems desirable for two reasons: firstly, this research has been confined to several specific areas which are only loosely connected and so risk obscuring the general outlines of the subject. Secondly, the few monographs on the Hurrians, dating back for decades as they do, are mostly based on a central thesis which originally dictated the choice and interpretation of sources but which is now largely discredited. This 'introduction' is an attempt to offer a coherent account of Hurrian history, independently from all other theses, whatever their nature, and to provide a sketch of their religious observances; other cultural peculiarities will be dealt with more briefly for reasons explained in the appropriate sections.

Given the introductory nature of this study, it was not always possible to weigh all the different interpretations of the sources against each other; as a result, much will seem more certain than it in fact is, despite the frequent use of expressions suggesting possibility and probability. In such cases, the reader is referred to literature selected primarily from the most recent works, in which references to older studies are easily found. This principle of selection naturally precludes a comprehensive bibliography of Hurrian research from its beginnings.

The chronology of the earlier periods of ancient near Eastern history is still not absolutely established today. The hitherto conventional dates between the 15th and the 13th centuries B.C. have been somewhat shortened here (compare Boese/Wilhelm 1979). The dates before 1500 are given according to the so-called "short chronology", and the dates before the Gutian period (first half of the 21st century B.C.) have been brought down by about 60 years in accordance with W.W. Hallo's suggestion. A chronological table is appended, confined to the names of rulers mentioned in this book. All the dates referring to ancient near Eastern history should be understood as "B.C.", even when this suffix is omitted.

The transcription of Hurrian names is neither phonological nor phonetic, but conventional. Many scholars feel it is important to represent the distinction in Hurrian between voiced and unvoiced consonants, which is allophonic rather than phonemic, and therefore attempt a phonetic transcription; in practice, however, this does not work logically. In the conventional method of transcription I use here, the unvoiced versions are generally adopted (so Hapat not Hebat, Kusuḥ not Kuzug, etc.; exceptions are z instead of s, w instead of f (or u)).

In the six years since the German edition of this book first appeared, important new sources and research on Hurrian history and culture have been published; as far as possible, they have been taken into account in this English edition. The bibliography has also been much enlarged.

The chapter on fine art, extremely brief in the original German edition, has been much extended by a contribution from Diana Stein. She is unusually well-qualified in this field in view of her many years' work on the "Kirkuk glyptics", and I should like to express my particular thanks to her here.

The English translation would not have been possible without the determined efforts of Dr. Nicholas Postgate at Cambridge, and the author is most grateful for his support. I should also like to express my warmest thanks to Mrs. Jennifer Barnes for her fast and accurate translation and for her willing cooperation.

June 1988.

G.W.

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A.A.P.

INTRODUCTION

The Hurrians are one of the ancient near Eastern peoples whose contemporary importance was neglected by later historical scholarship but confirmed in the 19th century by the results of excavations. It was only the name of the Hurrians which survived in the Old Testament in the form *ḫurī(m)* although this does not refer to Hurrians in the historical and linguistic sense (de Vaux 1967, otherwise Kammenhuber 1978).

Even today the significance of this name is still unknown. Several meanings suggested so far (Hrozný 1931:286f., Ungnad 1936, Speiser 1931:4, Dossin in Pohl 1951:479, Diakonoff 1972:96 n. 14) all lack convincing proof. However, it is perhaps worth mentioning a connection with *huradi*, "watch-soldier", for it is possible that this word, attested as it is not only in Hurrian and Urartian but also in Late Akkadian, Ugaritic, and especially in Assyrian, may be Hurrian in origin. In this case we should split it at the personal suffix *-(a)di*. A stem *hur* belonging to the semantic sphere of war is quite conceivable as the self description of a race. Finally, a reference should also be made to the acolyte Hurri of the Hurrian weather god (see below p. 51) and to a town called Hurra in Hurrian territory (Speiser 1941:4).

Even before the name of the Hurrians cropped up in cuneiform records, the first words of their language (*namall* "bed", *pitq* "child") appeared in Akkadian lists of synonyms (Delitzsch 1881:236). The relevant words are marked with the gloss *su(-bir,^{ki})*, which is the same as the regional name of Subartu that occurs in Akkadian texts (see also p. 7 below). A little later a letter consisting of 494 lines was found in the diplomatic archives of the pharaohs Amenophis III and Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) in the Egyptian Tell el Amarna (first published by Winkler and Abel 1889, best transcription: Friedrich 1932; see below p. 32ff.). Apart from the set introductory greetings in Akkadian, it was couched in an unknown language. At first it was called "Mitanni (Mītāni, Mittanni)", after the country of origin of the sender. Progress came with the realisation that some of the words marked with *su(-bir,^{ki})* also occur in the Mittani letter (Jensen 1891), that the foreign glosses in an Akkadian letter from the Amarna period from the central Syrian town of Tunip belong to the same language (Messerschmidt 1899:119 ff., Sayce 1900), as do many Old and Middle Babylonian names (Bork 1906, Ungnad 1909).

The excavations which began in 1906 in the Hittite capital of Hattuša (now Boğazköy, or Boğazkale) yielded, besides records written in a then

incomprehensible language, Akkadian state documents, from which we learnt of the existence of a "land of Hurri" and of the "people of Hurri". It is true this was at first read as "Harri", because the sign HUR can also be read as *har*, and an unambiguous spelling of the Hurrian name with the signs *hu-ur* was only discovered much later. Nevertheless, the correct reading was suggested early on by Opitz (1925) and Ungnad (1924), even though they then had no convincing proof. Since some of the gods invoked in the oaths of a state treaty between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma and the Mittani king Sattiwaza have clear parallels in Indian (see below pp. 18 and 58), "Harri" was at first associated with the Aryan name and "Harrian" interpreted as oldest Aryan (=Indo-Iranian) (Winckler 1907, 1910). This hypothesis became untenable with the discovery of texts on tablets from Hattuša whose language was characterised with the Hittite adverb *hurlili* (from the Hittite *hurla-* "Hurrian") and was related to that of the Mittani letter (Hrozný 1915).

Although *hurlili* constitutes a linguistic definition, and is basically a self-descriptive term, that corresponded to one in the Mittani letter itself (*hurwohe*, *hurrohe* "Hurrian"), several scholars went along with Ungnad's suggestion and called the language "Subarian" after the place name Subartu found in Babylonian (Ungnad 1915, 1923, 1936:133ff.). Since the language is already attested in proper names in the Ur III period (Hommel 1913) and earlier (Thureau-Dangin 1912), but the name Hurrian itself only since the Old Hittite period, Ungnad wanted to keep the word "Hurrian" for the "Subarian" of the Boğazköy texts, even though he himself discovered that there was no essential difference between "Hurrian" in this sense and "Subarian" of the Mittani letter. It was only as a result of E.A. Speiser's continued championship of the description "Hurrian" instead of "Subarian" (Chiera/Speiser 1926:79f., Speiser 1930:129f., 136f., 1933:16 ff.), that this was gradually accepted (English Hurrian, German Hurritisch, French hurrite, Italian hurrico, Russian hurritskij).

The corpus of Hurrian inscribed monuments has steadily increased through to today. The excavations in Hattuša, Mari, Ugarit, and Emar yielded new Hurrian texts, among them some that were important from a lexicographical point of view (see below p. 79f.), and the roster of Hurrian proper names rose into the thousands as a result of material uncovered in Nuzi, Kurruhanni, Alalakh, Ugarit, and many other places.

However, the study of the language, history, and culture of the Hurrians has not really developed into an independent branch of ancient Oriental studies like, for example, Assyriology, Sumerology, and Hittitology. Rather, these disciplines have tended to include the study of relevant Hurrian developments. But since Assyriologists and Hittitologists are rarely

well versed in other fields, they are apt to concentrate too much on those aspects of Hurrian studies which are related to their own special interests.

Within the framework of Hurrian scholarship proper, it is possible to identify several wide-ranging problems: quite apart from the linguistic one, there are the questions of the so-called "Hurrian-Subarian problem", the "Aryan problem", the study of the Nuzi texts, and the religious history of Hurrian Asia Minor ("Boğazköy-Hurrian", "Kizzuwatna Rituals").

Philological research on Hurrian began with the work of Sayce (1890, 1900), Jensen (1890, 1891, 1899), Brünnow (1890), Messerschmidt (1899) and Bork (1909) on the Mittani letter and resulted, at an early stage, in the identification of a number of morphemes and definitions. A contributory factor was the discovery that the Amarna finds included a number of Akkadian letters from the same king, which used the same phrases and dealt with the same topics ("quasi-bilingual"). Hurrian philology was given a new impetus during the thirties by the discovery of the texts at Nuzi, Ugarit, and Mari and by progress on the publication of the Hurrian texts from Hattuša. In phonology, the rules for the distribution of voiced and unvoiced allophones were established, in morphology the correct segmentation and in many cases the working definition of nearly all morphemes known to us today were set down, the correct view was expressed that Hurrian is an ergative language (though this term was only used later), and the vocabulary was enriched by the acquisition of a large number of new definitions, in particular from the Hattuša texts. Research dating from this period is linked above all with the names of Friedrich (1935b, 1939a, 1939b, 1943), Goetze (1939a, 1939b, 1940a, 1940b, 1940c), Speiser (1936, 1938, 1939a, 1939b, 1940a, 1940b), Thureau-Dangin (1931, 1939), and von Brandenstein (1937, 1940). All the results of the philological work done during this period were summed up by Speiser in 1941 in a grammar that is still reliable today.

After the Second World War there were moves to instigate further investigation into Hurrian linguistics, particularly following the discovery of new texts at Ugarit (Laroche 1955a, 1968, Kammenhuber 1970). Further work on the Mittani letter also yielded new information (Bush 1964, 1973, Farber 1971, Goetze 1948, Kammenhuber 1968b, 1968c, Wilhelm 1983, 1984, 1985a, 1987b). Research into the Hurrian tradition from Hattuša has entered a new stage with the publication of the first volumes of a "Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler" (Haas 1984, Salvini/Wegner 1986), and with the discovery of extensive Hurrian-Hittite bilinguals in 1983 (Otten 1984).

The relationship between the Hurrian and the Urartian language, the latter being attested by inscriptions from the 9th to 6th centuries, had already been recognised by Sayce (1890) and was subsequently confirmed by

Jensen (1891) and also by Friedrich (1933, 1935a, 1961), especially where vocabulary was concerned. In this connection important progress was also made, above all by the contributions of Diakonoff (1961, 1971), but also by others: Arutjunjan 1966:28, Balkan 1960:117 f., Benedict 1960, Salvini 1970, 1971, 1978, and Wilhelm 1976a, 1980b), which revealed how closely the two languages were related. In view both of this conclusion and the development of language and of dialect within Hurrian itself (Diakonoff 1971, Haas/Wilhelm 1974:129, n.2, Hačikyan 1975, 1976, 1978), it is now possible to assert confidently that Urartian is not a later continuation of Hurrian, but that both languages are independent branches of a common "root language" ("Proto-Hurrian-Urartian"), branches which had grown apart as early as the third millennium.

Conjectures that Hurrian and Urartian might be connected to the Caucasian languages had been put forward early on, but they gained considerable credence through the parallels that Diakonoff collected from languages of the north-east Caucasus, (1971:157 ff., 1978, Diakonoff/Starostin 1986), even if many of the suggested isoglosses are dubious.

New and comprehensive treatments of Hurrian grammar, following in the wake of Speiser's classic work mentioned above but very varied in their approach, were undertaken by Bush (1964), Diakonoff (1971), Friedrich (1969), Thiel (1975), and Hačikyan (1985); and a Hurrian glossary, recording for the first time a large number of attested Hurrian words, was provided by Laroche in 1980.

Hurrian historical research has advanced by means of various attempts to define the historical significance of the Hurrians within the framework of ancient Near Eastern civilisation. One particularly extreme position was adopted by Ungnad (1936), who considered them to be the oldest ethnic substratum of Mesopotamia and of prime importance in post-neolithic culture. He arrived at this idea, which is supported by neither historical nor linguistic or archaeological sources, by the methodically unsound association of anthropological evidence with linguistic and cultural phenomena. Although Speiser had early declared his opposition to a "pan-Subarian" position, (Chiera/Speiser 1926:82), his assumption that there had been a Hurrian substratum in northern Mesopotamia (Speiser 1930) was not so very far from Ungnad's hypothesis. It was only when the excavations in Gasur/Nuzi indicated that this town, occupied by Hurrians around 1400 B.C., showed almost no traces of Hurrian presence in the Akkad period, that he revised his view (Speiser 1932). A new approach to the subject was postulated by I.J. Gelb, who proposed a clear-cut distinction between Hurrians and Subarians. In his view, the latter had been the linguistic and ethnic substratum of northern Mesopotamia since earliest times, while the

former were merely late arrivals, a view shared by Speiser after his conversion (Gelb 1944). He had to modify this interpretation on the discovery of a royal inscription in Hurrian dating from the late third millennium (Gelb 1956), but this did not necessarily discredit the hypothesis itself. Speiser indicated correctly, on the other hand, that the Sumerians and Babylonians labelled words that were unmistakably Hurrian as "Subarian"; he did also allow, however, that there were non-Semitic and non-Hurrian elements in the Subarian material.

The basic position adopted in this argument for the Hurrian participation in ancient Near Eastern civilisation still stands today: towards the end of the third millennium, the Hurrians came from the north-eastern foothills of Mesopotamia, were heavily influenced by Sumerian-Assyrian culture, and then played an important role in the middle of the second millennium in transmitting this culture to Syria and Asia Minor (Speiser 1953-4, Guterbock 1954).

Undue importance has long been attached to the historical significance, still controversial today, of the groups speaking Indo-Aryan, the origin of a whole range of names and appellatives which appear from the 15th century B.C. onwards in texts from the Hurrian Mittani kingdom and its political and cultural spheres of influence (see below p. 17f.). Investigations into this specialist area within Hurrian studies have been charted by M. Mayrhofer (1966, 1974) in the form of an analytical Bibliography.

Work on the 15th and 14th century B.C. texts discovered in the northern part of the east Tigris region ("Nuzi research") has become a wide-ranging speciality under the umbrella of ancient oriental studies, of prime importance not only for Assyrian but also for Hurrian scholarship (bibliography Dietrich/Loretz/Mayer 1972). The Hurrians living in that part of the world were, at least to some extent, bilingual, using, for writing, an early Middle Babylonian dialect which included Assyrian elements whose frequency varied according to the scribe, but which also reveals many phenomena borrowed from Hurrian (Wilhelm 1970 a). As far as their content is concerned, the records offer a rich source of information on the social, economic, and judicial systems of the period and region (see below p. 43ff.). Comparison with details taken from the patriarchs' stories in the Old Testament has long been popular especially with American scholars working on Nuzi (Selman 1974, 1976).

There have been many attempts by archaeologists to solve the problem of the origin of the Hurrians and of their settlement of the fertile crescent, and to link it with the distribution of ceramic types. In particular, a kind of pottery first known as "Khirbet Kerak ware", which is widespread from the Transcaucasus across Eastern Anatolia and Northern Syria to Palestine, was

attributed to the Hurrians (Burney 1975:97ff.). However, this hypothesis is untenable on chronological grounds: the pottery is centuries older than the first evidence of Hurrians; indeed, the Hurrians did not occupy Syria until the second millennium. The distribution of Khirbet Kerak ware might, however, indicate earlier movements similar to that of the Hurrians, and it is not impossible that Proto-Hurrians were involved. A survey of cultural products in areas under Hurrian occupation was provided by B. Hrouda in 1958 and 1985.

The distribution of ceramic forms is suspect as an indicator of the migration of peoples because it may be caused by a variety of factors. Changes in political structures, trade routes, and fashions can be held responsible as well as demographic movements. This proviso also holds for the Palestinian Bichrome ware (Epstein 1966) and the Habur ware (Kramer 1977, Stein 1984), although its distribution at least coincides with the time when the Hurrians are historically attested.

"Hurrian" in the wide sense in which we use the word today denotes principally a linguistic unity. Though it is based on the self-description of a Hurrian-speaking population in the late 2nd millennium B.C., we now use it more loosely to refer to a wider time and place. This area of reference does not have to (and certainly does not!) tally with the textual identification as Hurrian of such properly historical entities as "country", "troops", "king". This discrepancy characterises a basic problem of my book: a group defined primarily by the use of a certain language need not also reflect a social entity and may in fact have had little or no historical consequence whatever. If, in consequence, I am to some extent justified in attempting a general exposition of the history and civilisation of the Hurrian-speaking peoples of the Ancient Orient, it is only because we can trace lines of tradition which extend from the oldest states in which Hurrian was spoken until the extinction of Hurrian in most parts of the Near East; this may give credence to the optimistic belief that, as we are justified in speaking of Assyrian or Hittite history, so we have the right to allow the existence of Hurrian history.

HISTORY

The oldest historical sources of the Near East have most to tell us about the history of the city states of Sumer, their dynasties and conflicts, without giving us even incidental information about those areas on the upper reaches of the Tigris and on its eastern tributaries where, we can assume, the Hurrians first inhabited the Near East. Thus we do not know how long they had been living in the mountain ranges on the north and north-eastern border of Mesopotamia, and the question of a possible prehistoric migration, perhaps from the other side of the Caspian Sea (Kammenhuber 1977, 1978:214), must remain a matter for speculation until new sources come to light.

In the course of the Akkad period (about 2230–2090 B.C.), for the first time in the history of the ancient Near East as we know it, the area of later Assyria, the northern east Tigris region, and parts of northern Mesopotamia were subjected to the direct political control of a kingdom in southern Mesopotamia. The first king of the dynasty of Akkad, Sargon, fought in the land of Subartu, if we can trust a later chronicle (Ungnad 1936:41). Subartu (su-bir, in Sumerian) does not always refer to geographically precise areas to the north of Babylonia (Finkelstein 1962:77). Originally it probably only meant part of the northern east Tigris region; then it came to include Assyria and northern Mesopotamia, and ended up as the literary name for Assyria in later Babylonian texts (Römer 1967/68, Michalowski 1986 b).

From one of Sargon's year-names we can conclude that he campaigned against the land of Simurru, which has recently been located with certainty on the upper reaches of the Lower Zab by an inscription of a king of Simurru, dated to the late Ur III period or early Old Babylonian period (Al-Fouadi 1978) and discovered north of the Rāniya plain (now the Dūkān lake). Sargon's campaign marks the beginning of the conquest of the east Tigris region, which became a firmly established part of the kingdom under his successors, as did Assyria as far as Nineveh.

Written documents were found at two places a long way from each other in the territory conquered by the kings of Akkad: Tell Brāk in the Hābūr triangle and Gasur, later Nuzi, in the north of the east Tigris region. In the 2nd millennium both places were in the area where Hurrian was spoken, so that it is important to examine the texts for Hurrian names and words in order to be able to set up a chronology for Hurrian expansion. Unfortunately, the tablets from Tell Brāk are so limited in number and in scope that the lack of unambiguously Hurrian names does not really mean

much. Among the far more extensive collection of tablets from Gasur, a few Hurrian names could be identified (Gelb 1944:52f.). Alongside Sumerian and Akkadian names in Gasur, there are also some of undetermined linguistic origin, and it has been postulated that they may derive from the so-called "Subarian" language (Gelb 1944:108 n.9; see above p. 5). Yet this attribution is not without its problems, since "Subarian" cannot be definitely identified as a linguistic entity (Speiser 1948) and in later times, "Subarian" (eme-su-bir₄ki in Sumerian) certainly refers to Hurrian (Edzard/Kammenhuber 1972-75:508). Among the non-Sumerian, non-Akkadian, and non-Hurrian names at Gasur, one type of name is especially well represented and also recurs as an early city ruler of Assur: it is trisyllabic; the second and third syllables are identical (Azizi, Azaza, Edada, etc.). However, there are also a large number of names in Sumer which have the same structure, and it is therefore better to be cautious in connecting it with one particular language. The surviving names from Gasur may also have links with the languages stemming from the peoples of the Zagros mountains, for example the Lullubians and the Gutians, which are still completely unknown to us.

We have an inscription of Narām-Suen's (Michalowski 1986), sadly fragmentary in the extreme, which deals with his conquests in Northern Mesopotamia and in the Eastern Tigris region, possibly Syria; it yields some place-names with Hurrian components. A year-date of the same king refers to Subir, the town of Azuhinnum on the Lower Zāb, and a certain Taḫiṣatili, who may represent the town prince or military leader of this town, and whose name can be interpreted as Hurrian (Lambert 1982). An Old Babylonian historical and literary report of a general uprising against Narām-Suen (Grayson/Sollberger 1976) does mention a king of Simurru with the Hurrian name of Puttim-atal. This, however, may derive from later sources – as indeed do other statements in this report.

At Nippur, the religious centre of Sumer, an inscription was found dating from the Akkad period and containing names and grammatical features which are beyond doubt Hurrian (Gelb 1959). It consists of a list of garments which were handed over to a man with the unquestionably Hurrian name of Šehrin-ewri. Oddly enough, this apparently everyday inscription is not written on clay but on valuable white marble. The text has therefore been designated a "ceremonial inscription accompanying a gift" (Edzard/Kammenhuber 1972-75:509). The origin of the tablet remains obscure. It provides adequate evidence that Hurrian minor states did exist in the north and north-east of the kingdom of Akkad, but not a terminus post quem for the earliest Hurrian occupation of these areas. Hurrians may be presumed to have been in the Near East from early times on the basis of

the old Sumerian craft-word *ta/ibira*, "copper-worker", for which convincing proof of a Hurrian source can be adduced (Otten 1984, Wilhelm 1988).

Under the threat of Gutian irruptions from the Zagros and as a result of internal political disruptions, the kingdom of Akkad collapsed after the reign of its last significant ruler, Šar-kali-šarrī (ca. 2114–2090 B.C.). The Gutians, who were occupying parts of Babylonia, were not able to extend their domination as far as the kings of Akkad; localised struggles for power ensued throughout the territory. In this way, from the ruins of the kingdom of Akkad arose a town whose ruler with the typically Old Hurrian name of Atal-šen (or Ari-šen: Finet 1966, Kammenhuber 1974:165, 1977:139, Gelb 1943:207) bequeathed to posterity an inscription engraved in Akkadian on a bronze tablet (Thureau-Dangin 1912, Sollberger/Kupper 1971:128, Wilhelm 1988). It is concerned with the foundation of a temple to the god Nerigal, who first appears on the scene during the Akkad period and who was particularly venerated by the oldest Hurrians (see below p. 54); he later occupied a place of honour in the Babylonian pantheon. Atal-šen proclaimed himself king of Urkeš and Nawar. To begin with, Urkeš was supposed to lie east of the Tigris (Thureau-Dangin 1912); later it was sited in the Hābūr triangle (Goetze 1953:62f.), and finally identified with the ruined hill of Tell ʿAmūda right on today's Turkish-Syrian border (van Liere 1957, Hrouda 1958). One reason for this identification is, among others, an itinerary from the Old Babylonian period, which sets out the stages of a trading expedition from Sippar to Emar on the bend of the Euphrates (Goetze 1953, Hallo 1964). According to later sources, Urkeš was the town of the god Kumarbi, a central figure of Hurrian mythology (see below p. 52f.). Nawar was formerly identified with a land named Namri or Namar, which was situated in the Zagros area between the Diyāla and the Lower Zab. This led to the idea of a very extensive early Hurrian state. Recent finds, however, have shown that a town named Nawar did exist in the Hābūr area (Oates 1987:188).

Atal-šen describes himself as the son of one Šatar-mat, otherwise unknown, whose name is also Hurrian. The rule of Atal-šen cannot be dated with certainty, but probably belongs to the end of the Gutian period (ca. 2090–2048 B.C.), or into the first decades of the Ur III period (2047–1940 B.C.). At any rate, the curse formulae in his inscription correspond perfectly to the ones used by the kings of Akkad (Sollberger/Kupper 1971:128, Wilhelm 1988).

Another Hurrian king, active in the Late Akkadian or Gutian periods, is known to us only from a Hittite-Hurrian ritual from Hattuša, later by many centuries, which nonetheless preserves reliable evidence of traditions

from the Akkadian period (Kammenhuber 1974:166ff.). His name is Kiklip-atal, and his town of Tukriš, not yet precisely located but lying somewhere far to the east of Mesopotamia, is well known from Old Babylonian sources.

Records from the Ur III period reveal that the mountain areas to the east and north of the Tigris and Euphrates valley were at this time occupied by Hurrian-speaking peoples, who had meanwhile also penetrated the eastern Tigris country to the north of the Diyāla. The surviving names of the inhabitants of the minor states there, partly controlled by Ur, are mostly Hurrian, occasionally Sumerian or uncertain (Gelb 1944:112ff., Goetze 1953). If the position of some towns referred to in the texts has been correctly identified, the areas where Hurrian was spoken then extended westwards at least as far as the region of the sources of the Hābūr.

Šulgi (2029–1982), the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, tried in the second half of his reign to conquer the northern east Tigris lands. From the many campaigns we may assume that he encountered a determined resistance. The battles known to us from Šulgi's date formulae can be grouped together into three wars (Halla 1978). The first and second were waged against the lands of Karahar and Simurru to the north-east of Jebel Hamrin, but in the third Šulgi advanced through the whole of the east Tigris lands as far as Šašrum, Urbilum (now Arbil), and the territory of the Lullubians around what is now Sulaimaniya. His successor, Amar-Suena (1981–1973 B.C.), plainly had the east Tigris lands well under control and undertook only two marches to the furthest outposts of his sphere of influence, Urbilum and Šašrum.

As a result of Šulgi's wars, large numbers of Hurrian prisoners found themselves in Sumer, where they were employed as a labour force. This is why so many people with Hurrian names can be traced in Southern Mesopotamia in the Ur III period. However, this certainly does not imply the presence of real Hurrian colonies in the sense of linguistic and cultural communities. The Hurrians, wrested from their own cultural background and taken to Sumer, seem to have been quick to adapt; witness the case of a Hurrian called Unap-šen, whose son already bore a Sumerian name and rose to the socially superior position of a scribe (Çiğ et. al. 1954:277).

Urkeš remained outside the control of the kings of Ur; no mention is made of it in war reports. However, there were diplomatic relations between Ur and Urkeš (Edzard/Farber 1974:224).

Šu-Suen's reign (1972–1964) marked a turning point in the history of the kingdom of Ur, which now suddenly saw itself thrown onto the defensive under the threat of Amorite tribes from the north-west. This was symbolised by the construction of a wall, which ran north of Baghdad from the

Euphrates to the Tigris and on to the Diyāla, in an effort to restrain the nomads from incursions into the civilised areas. We cannot tell to what extent the east Tigris lands withdrew at this time from the controlling power of Ur; the total collapse of the dominion of the kings of Ur did not, however, ensue until the reign of Ibī-suen (1963-1940 B.C.).

Two records from Ešnunna (Whiting 1976; A 31210 [unpublished Whiting, pers. comm.]) mention a Hurrian ruler called Tiš-atal, described as "Man of Ninua" (= Nineveh), who would therefore have ruled the northern part of Assyria, including the temple town of the Hurrian goddess Šawuška (see below p.p. 51-2). The two tablets were composed in 1970 B.C., the third year of the reign of king Šu-Suen of Ur. According to one of the texts, Tiš-atal escorted by more than 100 men, had met the uncle and general of the king of Ur, who had just completed successful military manoeuvres against the land of Simanum.

A ruler of the same name, indeed possibly identical with this Tiš-atal, promulgated the tradition begun by Atal-šen in Urkeš. Like Atal-šen, this second Tiš-atal has bequeathed to us a foundation inscription for a temple to Nerigal; for the first time, however, this one, is written in Hurrian and thus forms the first inscribed Hurrian relic known to us (Parrot/Nougayrol 1948, Diakonoff 1971:110f., Edzard/Kammenhuber 1972-75:509). The inscription runs: Tiš-atal, *endan* of Urkeš, has built a temple of Nerigal. May the god Lubagada protect this temple. Who destroys it, (him) may Lubadaga destroy. May the (weather)god(?) not hear his prayer. May the mistress of Nagar, the sun-god, and the weather-god ... him who destroys it". Tiš-atal refers to himself as *endan* of Urkeš, a title which has posed many problems to scholars. We now know that it contains an ending *-dan* common in the names of Hurrian professions (Wilhelm 1971). The remaining *en-* can be variously explained. It might derive from the old Sumerian *en*, designating a ruler, or it might also be the Hurrian word meaning "God" in the second millennium (*eni*). In the latter case, it would provide further evidence for the supposition that Hurrian kings of the later Ur III period deified themselves, following the example of Šulgi and his successors.

A seal, unfortunately of unknown provenance, bears the legend "Tiš-atal, king of Karahar, ...", writing the name of the king with the deity prefix (Sollberger 1971:169, Kammenhuber 1974:165). Further indications that the kings of the east Tigris were deified are provided by the inscription of King Idi-Suen of Simurru mentioned above (Al-Fouadi 1978), and by the seals of his son Zabazuna and of another king of Karahar called Zardamu (Sollberger 1980). Stylistically, Tiš-atal's seal fits into the Ur III period, or even a little later; but it is unlikely that Tiš-atal of Urkeš was the same as his homonymous counterpart in Karahar because the distance

between the two countries is so great. The town of Karahar can be equated with that of Harhar, already known to us from Assyrian sources and sited somewhere on the upper reaches of the Diyāla (Edzard/Farber 1974:91).

The subsequent fate of the kingdom of Urkeš remains obscure. Hurrian tradition, however, preserved until the end of the second millennium names which belong to the founding period of the kingdom of Urkeš, including those of the rulers of Akkad up to Šar-kali-šarrī and various kings of the eastern mountains (see below p. 73). It may even be that the king Atal-šen is named here (Kammenhuber 1974:167). This tradition suggests on the one hand that Urkeš saw itself as descended from the kingdom of Akkad, but on the other that the history of the Hurrians is not simply a linguistic artifice but also an historical unity in the sense of a continuum of tradition.

The collapse of the kingdom of Ur III led to a strengthening of local powers in North Mesopotamia and in the northern east Tigris region. We have no evidence of large-scale expansion in the north; it seems more likely that the political landscape was marked by a large number of independent minor states, consisting for the most part of nothing more than a central town and its hinterland. Due to a lack of textual sources, their history remains totally obscure.

The oldest collection of texts from the second millennium to provide us with evidence of the situation in Assyria, northern Syria, and Anatolia are the records of Assyrian merchants of the beginning of the 18th century B.C., who were dealing principally in precious metals, tin, and textiles. At some of their Anatolian trading colonies, business archives have been discovered, especially at the mounds of Kültepe which concealed the important Old Anatolian town of Kaniš; here lay the vast majority of the records (Garelli 1963, Orlin 1970, Larsen 1976). Hurrian names are rare occurrences in these texts (Garelli 1963, Edzard/Kammenhuber 1972-75:510, Kammenhuber 1977:142). It is therefore impossible as yet to assess how far the Hurrian language had penetrated Anatolia in the Old Assyrian period.

In Kaniš, a letter was discovered which was addressed to its ruler and which came from Anumhirbi, a prince of the town of Mama, probably sited in the general area of Maraş (Balkan 1957). If – as is generally supposed – this name is Hurrian, we may conclude that the region round Mama, known for certain to lie within Hurrian-speaking areas in the 14th century, did in fact boast a Hurrian-speaking section of the population or even a Hurrian dynasty as early as the beginning of the 18th century. But for the present this remains mere speculation.

It is only from the era of Šamšīr-Adad in Assyria and Hammurapi in Babylon, the late 18th century, that historical sources become more abundant; the archives of the royal palace of Mari on the middle Euphrates,

in particular, refer to a range of Hurrian city states stretching from northern Syria through northern Mesopotamia and so to the east Tigris regions and the Zagros mountains. The identification of these minor states as "Hurrian" relies on the one hand on the Hurrian names of the kings, on the other on the fact that, in the vast expanse of country lying to the south of the mountains, a large proportion of the population spoke Hurrian; this can be deduced from the statistics of proper names in the region. True, we must not ignore the basic methodological canon that the linguistic derivation of a name does not permit us to leap to conclusions about the nationality of its owner: if fifty out of a hundred names are Hurrian, that does not mean that half the population spoke Hurrian. But even if we should take into account that people with Hurrian names need neither have spoken Hurrian nor have had a Hurrian-speaking family background, still we may allow a correlation between the frequency of such names and the extent of Hurrian immigration at some time before these names were recorded.

The most westerly town where Old Babylonian texts with Hurrian proper names were discovered is Alalakh on the lower reaches of the Orontes (Wiseman 1953, 1954). At the time of Level VII (first half of the 17th century to about 1560 B.C.) roughly half of all attested names were Hurrian, and the proportion of people with Hurrian names to those recorded for the population as a whole approached three-eighths (Draffkorn 1959:17, Gelb 1961:39). The clay tablets found in Chagar Bazar (=Ašnakkum?) in the Hābūr triangle (Loretz 1969a, 1969b) contain not as many but nonetheless quite a number (at least 20%) of Hurrian proper names, and the records dating from the Old Babylonian period found in Tell al-Rimah (=Karanā or Qatarā) between Nineveh and Jebel Sinjar (Dalley 1976) reveal countless Hurrian names (Sasson 1979).

Both in Chagar Bazar and in Rimah the names appear above all in lists of rations of grain distributed to workers, some of whom may have been imported there as prisoners of war or bought-in slaves. Basically, then, the situation is essentially the same as in Mari, where Hurrian proper names (Sasson 1974) also crop up for the most part in comparable lists and where the Hurrian section of the population is nugatory. For Mari it can be shown that those with Hurrian names, judging by their type of employment, belonged to the lower classes and – as far as we can tell – were recruited in north Mesopotamia (Kupper 1978).

Šušarrā, sited on the upper reaches of the Lower Zab and possibly identical with Šašrum, frequently mentioned in the Ur III period, has yielded texts which not only refer to a local ruler with the Hurrian name of Kuwari but also contain such a multitude of Hurrian words and names that a predominantly Hurrian-speaking population is strongly suggested (Laessøe

1959a, 1959b, 1963, 1965, 1966, Laessøe/Knudsen 1962).

Further to the south, there arose on the site of what had been Gasur the town of Nuzi, which was inhabited in the 15th and 14th centuries B.C. by a Hurrian-speaking population. The reasons why the place was renamed – this can be dated to the first half of the 18th century B.C. – are still unknown, but we can reasonably assume that the transformation of the old shrine of the town, dedicated to Ištar, into a double temple was contemporaneous with the new foundation or with the renaming of the old (Wilhelm 1970a:7). Besides Ištar, identified with the Hurrian Šawuška, it seems likely that Teššup, the Hurrian weather god and king of the gods, was worshipped in this temple; his cult first became important when there was a new wave of Hurrian immigrants. For it is striking that this god, who later ranked supreme in the Hurrian pantheon (see below p. 49), and whose name forms by far the commonest component in proper names of the 15th and 14th centuries B.C., rarely contributed to Hurrian names up to the Mari period and was simply not in the same league as the onomastic element *-atal* (Meyer 1937–39, Gelb 1944:115).

Slaves were one of the more important exports not only of Upper Mesopotamia but also of the northern east Tigris region, and this would suggest that there was severe population pressure in the Hurrian territories on the Mesopotamian borders. An Old Babylonian record dating from the time of Samsu-ditana (1561–1531 B.C.) tells of the business trip undertaken by a merchant, in the course of which he was to buy a slave from Subartu; another record of the same date is concerned with the purchase of a slave-girl from (North-)Mesopotamia (*mat birTti*) (Finkelstein 1962). To the east of the Tigris the towns of Ašuh and Lubdi on the southern borders of Hurrian territory were used as markets for Hurrian slaves (Finkelstein 1955). So it is not surprising to find Hurrian names at this time right in the heart of Babylonia, as was already the case in the Ur III period. In particular, many such names are on record in texts from the town of Dilbat (Ungnad 1909, Charpin 1977).

Direct evidence of population movement in the eastern frontiers is provided by the letters from Mari, according to which inhabitants of the Zagros, Turukkaeans by name, were so tormented by hunger that they attacked settlements in order to pillage supplies. Among the few Turukkaean names known to us there are some, especially of their leaders, who were Hurrian (Klengel 1962).

During the second half of the 18th century, ŠamšT-Adad, the descendant of a dynasty that had been based in Terqa on the middle Euphrates but which had been overthrown by the kings of Mari, managed to capture the Assyrian town of Ekallātum, in order to topple the Old Assyrian

dynasty and to take control of Assyria. Ultimately, he was to dominate a considerable area, bounded on the one hand by the Euphrates in the west and south and on the other by the Zagros in the east. Šamšt-Adad's kingdom revolved round three focal points: the region of the upper Hābur and its tributaries, along with the capital Šubat-Enlil (=Tell Lailān?), which was Šamšt-Adad's principal residence; Assyria, ruled by the heir to the throne; and the lands of the middle Euphrates around Mari, which were subject to a younger prince. In a complex system of mutual trust and military force, the nomads co-existed peacefully with the dominant civilisation (Kupper 1957, Klengel 1972) and were restrained from warlike incursions; control over the settlements in the river valleys was maintained thanks to the loyalty of the Hurrian and Amorite populations towards their local potentates. This kingdom of Šamšt-Adad's was a fragile construction, relying heavily for its stability on the diplomatic skill and military prestige of its ruler, whose death therefore precipitated its collapse. While his successor Išme-Daġan was able to retain control of Assyria, Mari reverted to the heir of the old dynasty, Zimrilim, and north Mesopotamia was fragmented into countless tiny states. This is the background against which we see many dynasties in Upper Mesopotamia, whose names can only be Hurrian: Atal-šenni of Burundum, for example (Finet 1966), or Šukrum-teššup of Elahut. In the upper Tigris regions, too, to the north of Assyria and in the east Tigris region, there is evidence of a large number of Hurrian names, including Nanip-šawiri of Haburātum, Sadu-šarri of Azuhnum, and Tiš-ulme of Mardaman (Biro 1973, Kupper 1978).

With its metropolis of Halab (Aleppo), Northern Syria had been able to resist the expansion of the kingdom of Šamšt-Adad, and after its fall rose to be one of the most powerful forces in the Near East. Since Zimrilim, the heir to the throne of Mari, had found asylum here and indeed linked the two royal families by marriage, a coalition between Halab and Mari was almost inevitable once Zimrilim had succeeded, with the help of his father-in-law in Aleppo, in capturing his native city. Sources at least a hundred years later describe Halab as the seat of a "great kingdom" (see below p. 22) and reflect a state of uncontested supremacy in Northern Syria.

To the west of the Euphrates lay other states besides Halab which made sporadic attempts to safeguard themselves against the military ambitions of Aleppo by entering into alliances with Mari. Most important of these were Carchemish, Uršum, and Haššum, but only the first of these, lying on the Euphrates at the border between Turkey and Syria, can be identified beyond doubt. The Mari letters indicate the king's name of Sennam for Uršum and of Anišhurbi for Haššum. It is quite possible but not certain that these names are Hurrian (Kammenhuber 1977).

It is difficult to gauge the extent of the Hurrian population and its cultural – especially its religious – influence west of the Euphrates during the Old Babylonian period. In the following period up to about 1560 B.C., Hurrian elements are apparent not only in the onomastikon (Draffkorn 1959) but also in the pantheon (Landsberger 1954:64) and in ritual phraseology (Haas/Wilhelm 1974:138f.). Both at Halab and at Alalakh, where royal names, however, continue in the Amorite tradition.. When Landsberger (1954:64) writes of Halab, Uršum, Haššum and Carchemish as the "four Hurrian kingdoms to the west of the Euphrates", his assessment of the situation is probably correct in essence, even though Carchemish is dubious. Since historical developments in Halab, Alalakh, and Haššum at this time (1695–1560 B.C.) appear to have been free from ructions, it seems likely that the same was true of the 17th century, but this could be just as misleading as the assumption, resting on the lack of reliable source-material, that there had been no Hurrian colonisation of the area between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean in the Mari period (Kammenhuber 1977). A terminus post quem for the immigration of the Hurrians into Northern Syria has yet to be firmly established from written sources – apart from the much earlier Ebla texts.

Political developments after the collapse of the kingdom of Šamšīr-Adad, like the kingdoms of Akkad and Ur, were marked by a third, more powerful, incursion of a Hurrian-speaking population. In purely economic and political terms events probably followed the same pattern: the downfall of large-scale political structures, accompanied as it is by the loss of military and administrative control, leads to the end of economic interdependence: foreign trade founders, the level of urbanisation decreases, irrigation cisterns fall into disrepair, agricultural estates are neglected in favour of an increasing animal husbandry, and agrarian production reverts to a struggle to survive by means of small-scale community enterprises. For the inhabitants of the mountainous border country, these changes endangered the delicate balance between subsistence-level of ecological niches (like the many and varied forms of "mountain nomadism") and exchange and barter with the civilised areas; this in its turn led to part of the population abandoning its original life-style in the search for a new means of livelihood in the flat farm-lands.

The new arrivals will have settled in both with and without recourse to military strength, but the new political framework that arose bears all the hallmarks of occupation by force; the surviving settlements were subjected to the quasi-feudal exploitation of a military elite which was increasingly to acquire the status of a powerful landowner. The archives from the town of Nuzi in the east Tigris land of Arrapha yield a rich source of information

about these developments, but their value as a mirror of the growing society which concerns us here has not yet been fully appreciated.

Among the immigrants from the east Anatolian mountains there were certain groups who spoke an Indo-European dialect, an archaic form of Indo-Aryan (Mayrhofer 1966, 1974, Kammenhuber 1968). This fact has aroused much interest since the inception of ancient Oriental studies and, in the first half of this century, was victim of interpretations springing from the racial theories prevalent at that time. A thorough investigation of the few surviving linguistic fragments has since resulted in a degree of concurrence on many points among scholars, even though their discussions were to some extent jeopardised by inappropriate shafts of polemic (Mayrhofer 1966, 1974, Kammenhuber 1968, 1977, 1978, Diakonoff 1972).

The really controversial question affecting our whole historical approach is this: Did Indo-Aryan-speaking groups from the Transcaucasus make their way into the Fertile Crescent along with Hurrians, or are the Indo-Aryan linguistic features derived from encounters the Hurrians had with Indo-Aryans during their migrations into Iran and to India – encounters which must have occurred in the Transcaucasus, where, however, to judge from linguistic evidence of the first millennium B.C., a Hurrian-related but nonetheless distinct proto-Urartian language appears to have been spoken around 2000 B.C. This latter pattern would be confirmed if Hurrian or (proto-)Urartian borrowings were found in India; so far, however, there has been no proof of this. The flow of influence would have been one-way only, from Indo-Aryan into Hurrian. Since linguistic evidence of Indo-Aryan – the names of men and gods, along with a collection of technical terms to do with training horses – has survived principally in connection with the Mittani dynasty, we can assume that the tradition of Indo-Aryan royal names was established under the influence of Indo-Aryan settlers in Transcaucasia and that this accompanied the ruling class more than 500 kilometres southwest to northern Mesopotamia, where it survived in the Mittanian kingdom, most likely as a result of dynastic continuity. This solution would mean substituting a Hurrian 'ruler myth' for a rightly suspect Indo-Aryan one. It is easier to accept the suggestion that there were Indo-Aryan-speaking splinter groups from the main stream of migration through Iran to India, who along with Hurrians ended up in the amalgam of the Fertile Crescent. There they were quickly absorbed into this Hurrian-speaking society, imbued as it was with Old Mesopotamian and Old Syrian culture, and probably soon abandoned their own language. According to another theory, the Mittani Indo-Aryans sprang from the Gurgan civilisation on the south-east coast of the Caspian Sea, and the cause of their migration to Upper Mesopotamia was the irruption of Iranian races

(Ghirshman 1977).

Our only information about the part that the Indo-Aryans must have played in the prehistory of the Mittani kingdom derives from a number of proper names and loan-words; even these, however, allow us to draw certain conclusions as to the historical significance of these groups. The kings of the great Hurrian kingdom – established in the 16th century B.C. and subsequently known as Maïttani and later as Mittani (see below p. 20 and 25) – bear royal names that, as far as we can tell, are exclusively non-Hurrian; the etymology of some is certainly or most probably Indo-Aryan, for example Artatama = Vedic *ṛtā-dhāman-* "whose abode is the Rta", Tušratta (Tuišeratta) = Vedic *tveṣā-ratha-* "whose chariot surges forward violently", Sattiwaza = Old Indo-Aryan **sāti-vāja-* "acquiring booty", Vedic *vāja-sāti* "acquisition of booty" (Mayrhofer 1974:23-25). While no entirely convincing etymologies have yet been put forward for a range of other so-called "Mittani names", the very fact that they differ so markedly from familiar Hurrian names suggests an association with Indo-Aryan. Methodological objections to this (Kammenhuber 1968:156 ff.) as a linguistic and heuristic principle are doubtless justified, but are of minor importance for the historical evaluation of the phenomenon. Names of this type - their meaning is naturally still controversial - are also to be found in the 14th century B.C. as names of rulers in southern Syria, right down into Palestine (Mayrhofer 1966:29f., 1974:29, Kammenhuber 1977:130); this fact does not, however, indicate anything more than a political and cultural relationship between these states and Mittani. But since the Hurrian language was in use in the 14th century B.C. at least as far away as Central Syria (Qatna, also probably Qadesh), and since this expansion probably results from the population shifts during the rise of Mittani, it is not a priori impossible that Indo-Aryans also made their way to this part of the country. If the manifold spellings of Indo-Aryan names is then cited as an argument for the theory that Indo-Aryan was never spoken in the Near East and was only preserved in Hurrian in the shape of meaningless loan-words, we should not forget that scribal competence in a multi-lingual society can vary enormously, and that the transmission of foreign names by unpractised speakers and writers is more than likely to lead to variant forms. The questions raised here must remain to a great extent unanswered; in an unclear situation, negative as well as positive assertions must be properly proven.

Among the gods who were still being honoured in the late 14th century by the kings of Mittani, we find Mitrá-, Várūna-, Indra-, and the Nāsatya-twins, who are known to us from the Vedas, the oldest Indian poems. However, in as much as they are only attested so far in two versions of a state treaty (Laroche 1971 Nos. 51 and 52), the worship of these deities may

have been restricted to dynastic circles.

The inherited names of the kings of Mittani make it clear that the Indo-Aryan-speaking groups played a role in the changing scene in North Mesopotamia in the 16th and 17th centuries which was not unconnected with an accomplishment suggested by the the sparse remains of the Indo-Aryan language itself: various terms for horses, current in Nuzi in the early 14th century B.C., were certainly or probably of Indo-Aryan origin (Mayrhofer 1966:17ff., 1974:29f.; also Kammenhuber 1968:211ff.), and a Hittite tract on training horses (Kammenhuber 1961) derives from a Mittani expert in this field and contains Indo-Aryan technical terms, and from these two facts we may deduce that the Indo-Aryans were experienced in the breeding and training of horses. A combination of this equestrian skill and the use of the two-wheeled chariot engendered a military expertise which without doubt contributed much to the expansion of the Mittani kingdom, even if our texts bear witness to superior siege techniques ("Hurrian ram"; Güterbock 1938:116) and the use of the composite bow during the early period of the Mittani kingdom. The two-wheeled chariot itself is now generally considered to have developed in the Near East and not, as once thought, to have been imported by the Indo-Aryans. It was quickly adopted over the whole of the Near East, Egypt, and the Aegean (Nagel 1966, Zaccagnini 1978).

The acquisition and upkeep of horses and chariots was very expensive, and so the prerogative of an aristocracy was defined in Arrapha in just this way: its members there were known as *rakib narkabti* ("chariot-drivers") and constituted the crack troops that clinched victory. In Mittani as well as in Syria and Palestine they were called *marijanni-na*, a term that has often, though not uncontroversially, been linked with Old Indian *mārya*- "young man" (in Avestan also "member of a group of men" (Mayrhofer 1966:19, 1974:16, Kammenhuber 1968:222f., Diakonoff 1971:76, Laroche 1980:168). In the course of the history of Mittani, this military elite (O'Callaghan 1950/51) was transmuted into a kind of hereditary aristocracy, if we may generalise from texts from Alalakh, which refer to "*marijanni-na*, who own no chariots" (see also p. 44 below). But a text from Alalakh also indicates that one could be elevated to the *marijanni-na* by royal decree (Wiseman 1953, no. 15).

The rise and expansion of Mittani has been linked with a poorly documented period of Egyptian history, known as the "Second Intermediate Period", in the course of which the kings of the 15th dynasty of Auaris in the Nile delta, by name "Hyksos" after the Greek tradition, held sway over Egypt even though the Egyptians looked on them as foreigners (van Seters 1966, Helck 1971, Wolf 1972-75). Attempts to explain away the names of Hyksos kings as Hurrian (Helck 1962, 1971) have not yielded

incontrovertible results (de Vaux 1967, Vernus 1978). A "Hyksos empire", alleged to have encompassed extensive areas of the Near East, may now be dismissed as vain imaginings.

Controversy has also arisen over the assertion that the infiltration of the Hyksos into Egypt was the direct result of the Hurrian expansion, as the pressure of Hurrian migrations was relayed towards Egypt by the Semitic populations of Southern Syria and Palestine. However scanty the evidence to support this theory, it would be wrong to reject it on the basis of chronological considerations (Kammenhuber 1977:32): renewed Hurrian incursions into Northern Mesopotamia took place after the end of the rule of Šamšīr-Adad (see p. 15 above). At this time, the Tur-^cAbdīn and the Jazīrah were already Hurrian territory, and the destruction of Mari may well have been followed by a rapid dispersal of Hurrians in the valleys of the Balīḥ, of the middle Euphrates, and probably of the central Orontes. Even if we accept the short chronology used here, according to which these events move into the 17th century B.C., it is perfectly in order to postulate a causal connection between the demographic and political upheavals in the Near East on the one hand and the arrival of the Hyksos in Egypt in about 1650 B.C. on the other.

The beginning of the kingdom of Mittani is still shrouded in mystery. If – as here – one accepts the short chronology, there emerges an historically illuminating correlation between the struggles of the Hittite Old Kingdom against threatening Hurrian incursions and the subsequent attestation of a Hurrian kingdom in northern Syria a few decades later. The short chronology will allow us to interpret the Hurrian battles of the Old Hittite sources as part of the rise to power of the Mittani kingdom (Astour 1972, Avetisjan 1978; also Na'aman 1974, Klengel 1978:101, 106). If we adopt a "longer" chronology, this association loses much of its plausibility.

After the Hittite dominion was established over the Anatolian high plateau and the Cilician plain, further expansion took place into the northern Syrian towns between the Euphrates bend and the Mediterranean coast, prosperous through agriculture and foreign trade. Here, the kingdoms familiar to us from the Mari correspondence were still in existence: the most powerful was Halab with Alalakh on the Orontes as its subsidiary, and along with it were Carchemish, Uršum, and Haššum (see above p. 16). Now, however, there emerged a real force to be reckoned with, all unsuspected at the date of the Mari letters: the Hurrians, based apparently to the east of the Euphrates; we can assume that they were troops of the Mittani state, although the name itself is first attested some decades later.

The primary target of the northern Syrian campaigns of the Hittite king Hattušili I (around 1560) was, according to his own account (Otten 1958,

Imparati/Saporetti 1965), the town of Alalakh, which he overcame and destroyed. References to a general from Aleppo bearing the Hurrian name of Zukraši, found not only in a tablet from Alalakh, level VII, but also in an account of historical events in the time of Hattušili I (Laroche 1971, no. 15), link the sources from Boğazköy and Alalakh and allow us to identify the destruction reported by Hattušili with the archaeological evidence of destruction in level VII (Landsberger 1954).

It seems, however, that his siege of the town of Uršu in the wake of the capture of Alalakh was less successful. The records of Hattušili just referred to only report the pillaging of the countryside – usually an indication that the attack on the town itself had failed (Klengel 1965:262f., 1969:158). More detail emerges from an historical account (Güterbock 1938); its chief aim, like that of the so-called "palace chronicle" (see below p. 22), is to list the lapses of Hittite dignitaries, which continually frustrated the success of the Hittite besiegers. The allies of the town included the Hurrians; it is to their ruler that the title found in the text, "son of the weather god", may refer (Klengel 1965, 1970:173). It may have been this abortive mission that prompted the collapse of outlying parts of the Hittite kingdom. The phrase: the Old "Kingdom" of the Hittites must not obscure the fact that in practice this meant a fusion, only recently achieved by force, of many different forms of local government with many different levels of loyalty: this fusion could only survive while the central figure-head of the king maintained his superiority. The next year, consequently, Hattušili had to march on the south Anatolian territory of Arzawa; the Hittite laws, now set down for the first time, show that this formed a part of the kingdom, and during this very campaign, runs Hattušili's report, "the enemy from Hanigalbat/Hurri forced his way into my country, and all the lands fell from me. Only the town of Hattuša alone remained." (Otten 1958:78). This report, even though it may be somewhat exaggerated for dramatic effect, does give an impression of the considerable strength of the new Hurrian fighting force, which surpassed by far that of the north Syrian kingdoms.

If the name of Hanigalbat, which appears in the Akkadian version, also figured in the original text and was not added in by a later copyist, we are dealing here with one of the earliest attestations of this place-name; its first occurrence is in the Old Babylonian period, and in subsequent Akkadian sources it often replaces Mittani (see below p. 25).

In the following years, the Hittite king was once again much preoccupied with consolidating his supremacy in the Cappadocian area. First the south-west and then the south-east of the Hittite kingdom had to be subdued before an expansion into Syria became viable again.

After the capture and destruction of the town of Zaruna not far from

Alalakh, Hattušili pushed forward to the mountain or mountains of Adalur (in the Amanus) to attack the troops of the town of Haššu, who were reinforced by a contingent from Halab. An oracle text, which names not only the town of Haššu but also the Hurrians, most likely refers to this situation (Ünal/Kammenhuber 1974:164ff., 173f.) After a victorious battle he crossed the Pura/una river (the Orontes or 'Afrīn?; see Balkan 1957:37, contra Güterbock 1964, 1972-75, Klengel 1970:43f., Laroche 1980:205) and captured Haššu. To judge from the detailed catalogue of booty, Hattušili himself seems to have considered this his most important conquest. The deities of the town - the weather god of or from Amaruk, the weather god of Halab, Allatum, Adalur, Lilluri and Hepat - were transported along with their cult objects into the temple of the Hittite queen of the gods, the sun goddess of Arinna, or alternatively to the temple of her daughter Mezulla in Hattuša. Some of these deities, although they are not genuine Hurrian gods, are typical of the west Hurrian pantheon (see below p. 55f.). Since later the importation of foreign deities into the Hittite capital led to the survival of their religious customs, this might suggest that as early as the beginning of the Old Hittite period, Hurrian cults had reached Hattuša (Otten 1958:79 n.21; Klengel 1965; von Schuler 1969:116).

In Haššu, the prince of Hurma was installed as Hittite deputy. Yet the situation was clearly unstable; he "feared the Hurrians", according to the so-called "palace chronicle" (Laroche 1971, no. 9) in its report of events from the time of Hattušili, and so was severely punished. Another account in the same text mentions a dignitary in Haššu with the Hurrian-Akkadian name of Ewari-šadūni, which also suggests a cultural continuity that outlasted the Hittite conquest.

The Hittite aim of overall control in northern Syria could only be achieved in tandem with the conquest of Halab, its nerve-centre. This town - one of the most important oriental metropolises during the Mari period and as such heir to the geographical trading potential of nearby Ebla - was in Hittite eyes the seat of a "Great Kingship", and its capture was looked upon as a divine mandate (von Schuler 1969:100). But Hattušili failed in this attempt; his last successful campaign, chronicled in his own report (though compiled in the middle of his rule) was launched against the town of Hahhum on the upper Euphrates, a long way to the north of Halab.

An Old Hittite source indicates that towards the end of his reign, Hattušili did march on Halab, and that he may have lost his life in the course of this undertaking; in any case, the conquest of the town was both a mandate and a bequest to his successor, Muršili I (Klengel 1965:149, Astour 1972:107). In the introduction to the treaty that Muršili II signed a good two hundred years later with the king of Halab, the retrospective version has

it that Hattušili "removed" the Great Kingship of Halab and that Muršili finally "annihilated" the town.

The conquest of Halab was also a severe blow for the Hurrian kingdom to the east of the Euphrates, which had had links with Halab since the days of Hattušili - a long-standing alliance referred to as late as the first half of the 15th century by Idrimi, a member of the royal family of Halab (Landsberger 1954:55). Consequently, the Hurrians were next in line as victims of the military ambitions of Muršili: after the subjection of Halab the Hittites destroyed "all the towns of the Hurrians"; it is not clear whether this means the country round Halab, which would imply translating "villages" rather than "towns", or whether it means towns to the east of the Euphrates. Subsequent events show, however, that there can be no question of a lasting subjugation of the Hurrians; but it is possible that Muršili crossed the Euphrates in order to consolidate his left flank for his most startling military manoeuvre, the march for more than a thousand kilometres down the Euphrates which culminated in 1531 B.C. in the capture of Babylon (Klengel 1979).

It was probably renewed Hurrian incursions which prevented Muršili's successful Babylonian campaign from achieving permanent political control of the Euphrates route. In the course of the next decades, the Hittite kingdom was bedevilled by bloody wars of succession which precluded an active foreign policy. Halab regained its independence, and even the land of Kizzuwatna broke away from the Hatti kingdom.

Kizzuwatna included ancient Cilicia, now known as Çukurova around Adana, and extended along the two rivers Ceyhan and Şeyhan (Greek: Pyramos and Saros) and up into Cappadocia. The religious centre of Kizzuwatna was the town of Kummanni, still famous in Roman times under the name of Comana Cappadociae for its religious customs and for the large number of its priests. Kizzuwatna acquired considerable cultural significance by adopting Hurrian cults of various origins which were then transmitted to the Hittites (see below p. 71ff.). We do not know when Kizzuwatna first achieved independence as a state, but it is by no means unlikely that it was as a consequence of the catastrophic Hurrian incursions on the Hatti kingdom during the reign of Muršili I's immediate successor, Hantili (ca. 1510 B.C.). In any case, it is scarcely conceivable that Kizzuwatna lay outside Hittite control during the height of the Old Hittite kingdom under Hattušili I and Muršili I, even though we know little about its political standing in these early years, apart from the information in the Telipinu decree. This decree asserts that the first Hittite kings made the sea the boundary of their kingdom, but on this point it uses standard literary topoi and is of dubious historical value. At any event, a reference to Luhuzandiya

(the later Lawazantiya?) in the description of the siege of the town of Uršu by Hattušili I (see above p. 21) might imply that the north at least of Kizzuwatna lay under Hittite domination (Landsberger 1954:64f. n.157). It is under Muršili's second successor, Zidanta (ca. 1490), that Kizzuwatna first comes into the picture as a full-blown political entity; Pilliya, its king, forged a treaty with his Hittite counterpart (Otten 1951, 1971:67, n.13), which effectively brought previous hostilities to an end. It is clear that in this, as in several later treaties, Kizzuwatna was no mere vassal of the Hatti kingdom, but that care was taken to ensure that the mutual responsibilities reflected the equal standing of the two parties.

Around 1480, the "land of the town of Adaniya", in other words the area around Adana, and so probably Kizzuwatna as a whole, participated in a coalition against the Hittite king Amunna. Kizzuwatna's independence was asserted in the next generation when king Išputahšu (ca. 1460 B.C.) laid claim to the title of sovereign; his seal impression has been found in the Cilician town of Tarsus (Goetze 1936). He too signed a state treaty with the Hatti kingdom (Otten 1951), and similar treaties drawn up by other kings of Kizzuwatna (Eheya, Pattatiššu) exist which have yet to be put in a firm chronological order. No later than the 15th century B.C., Hurrian language and religion were becoming adopted in Kizzuwatna, but due to an absence of authentic source-material from the area, this development can only be deduced from later Hittite texts.

Whilst Hittites and Hurrians vied for supremacy in the region between the middle Euphrates and the Mediterranean coast, in Egypt a dynasty, with its seat in Thebes, had made a successful bid to overthrow the power of the Hyksos (see above p. 19f.) and to reunite the whole fragmented country. A short period of consolidation was followed by efforts, characteristic of the whole New Kingdom, to gain control of the neighbouring northern lands, with their important trading centres, and to drain off some of their resources by embarking on pillaging expeditions and by exacting tribute. Soon after the collapse of the Hittite supremacy in northern Syria, Thutmose I (ca. 1497-1482 B.C.) conquered Palestine. In his subsequent campaigns he encountered an enemy occupying a land which the Egyptians thereafter called by the Semitic word *Nahrtna*, the 'Aram Naharayim of the Old Testament, ("riverland", or land in the Euphrates bend; O'Callaghan 1948, Finkelstein 1962). A fragmentary inscription, probably from the time of Thutmose I (Brunner 1956, Helck 1962:117), contains the name used by the natives for the first time: Maittani, later Mittani (von Weiher 1973, Wilhelm 1976b.).

This name has still not been explained. It is based on a lexeme (with the suffix *-ni*) that is otherwise only known as a proper name (Maitta). One

might well think, then, that the place is named after an earlier political chief; but even in the oldest attestation in the same Egyptian inscription the name refers to a country and not to a tribe or a social group. In Akkadian sources the name Mittani is replaced by the even more obscure name Hanigalbat or Haligalbat (von Weiher 1972-75, Astour 1972:105; see below p. 39), in its oldest form Habingalbat (Groneberg 1980:90). Both designate the area between the Euphrates bend and the upper reaches of the Tigris, with the triangle of the Hābūr tributaries at its centre; it is not clear where we should draw in the northern boundary, however. Most likely, Mittani also embraced at least Tur-^cAbdīn, probably also the plain around Diyarbakır, bordering in the north on the lands of Išuwa (including the agricultural hub of Altınova, now Lake Keban) and Alše (to the north of the east-west section of the Tigris, Arzanene in Greek); these places were also settled by Hurrians and were temporarily dominated by Mittani. Along with the geographical names of Mittani, Hanigalbat, and NahrTna, reference is often simply made, particularly in Hittite sources, to "Hurrians" or to the "land of Hurri". The name of the Hurrians also occurs in Egyptian sources from the XVIIIth dynasty (de Vaux 1967, Vernus 1977, 1978), referring in the first instance to a tribe native to Palestine and Syria and later to the areas adjoining the northern boundary of Egypt, especially Palestine and Phoenicia. Many Akkadian sources adopt the title of "king of Mittani", while others favour "king of the Hurrians", but this can by no means be explained away by an older theory (Goetze 1957), according to which Hurrian history of the 15th and 14th centuries unfolded against a background of two states constantly at loggerheads (Liverani 1962).

Around 1470, the kingdom of Mittani extended its power westward, to engulf the kingdom of Halab, which, after the intermission of the Hittite conquest by Muršili I, had regained its independence under the kings Šarra-el, Abba-el, and Ilmilimma. It had even managed to expand its territory by the addition of other small states in the west, for example Niya, Ama'u, and above all Mukiš (Alalakh), stretching as it did right up to the Mediterranean coast. A revolt in Halab - doubtless backed up by Mittani - forced Idrimi, the son of the last autonomous king of Halab, into many years' exile, while Parrattarna, king of the Hurrians, pushed out the borders of Mittani to the Mediterranean. Finally Idrimi succeeded in making peace with Parrattarna and was installed as king over Alalakh (Smith 1949, Oller 1977, Kempinski/Ne^ceman 1973, Dietrich/Loretz 1981). His dominions included not only Mukiš (Alalakh) but also Niya and Ama'u, while other arrangements were made for the centre of what had previously been the kingdom of Halab; a later Hittite report suggests that Halab continued as a royal town. Idrimi was bound by treaty to acknowledge the supremacy of

the king of Mittani, and also probably had to pay tribute (Klengel 1965:229); he still had the right, however, to arrange treaties and to indulge in foreign politics without consulting the king of Mittani as long as he observed the terms of their agreement. This assumption is based on a boundary treaty agreed between Idrimi and his neighbour to the north, King Pilliya of Kizzuwatna, after a successful war (Wiseman 1953, no. 3). This treaty also makes it clear that Kizzuwatna – unlike Alalakh – was not yet subject to Mittani, because Idrimi declared his allegiance to the oath of loyalty he had sworn to the Hurrian king, which would hardly have been necessary if both kings had been bound to the same suzerain.

Military initiative was, then, at first on the side of the Hurrians and their allies, but this state of affairs changed in the course of time as a result of the outward pressure that Egypt exerted on its Syrian borders. After this country had been temporarily preoccupied with home affairs, the pharaoh Thutmosis III had made a successful start to his first campaign in 1458 B.C. at Megiddo by overcoming a Syrian coalition under the leadership of the king of Qadesh. We have no information about relationships between the central and south Syrian city states and the kingdom of Mittani at this time, but we may nonetheless infer from later texts that this part of Syria also boasted a Hurrian-speaking section of society, consisting principally of the aristocracy and including the ruler. Thus it is quite conceivable that these cultural links reflected political ones, and that the coalition referred to above enjoyed the support of the kingdom of Mittani (Helck 1968/69). Egypt's recent emergence on the south-western borders of the Mittani kingdom provided an opportunity for a power on its south-eastern borders, a power that was still relatively unimportant at this time, to oppose the Hurrian expansion: after the battle at Megiddo, the rulers of the city of Assur had gifts brought to the pharaoh on several occasions, and some time afterwards Aššur-nādin-ahhē I (about 1430) received in his turn a consignment of gold from Egypt.

After Thutmosis III had, during another campaign, managed to capture the fortress of Qadesh, he concentrated his subsequent invasions on the parts of the Mittani kingdom west of the Euphrates. In 1447 he reached the Carchemish area and even crossed the Euphrates; there are no reports of counter-measures from Mittani. Like Assyria, another neighbour of Mittani, till now forced onto the defensive, approached the pharaoh to propose an alliance. A Hittite king, whose name remains unknown, sent presents. Possibly a Hittite-Egyptian treaty, dealing with the realignment of frontiers in Egypt's favour, and mentioned in a later source, dates from this period. (Kühne 1973:90f. n.456).

In spite of his military successes, Thutmosis did not manage to

incorporate even southern Syria permanently into his empire. His last expedition in 1438 B.C. was directed at a revolt, backed up by Mittani, of the towns of Tunip and Qadesh.

Working from the source material available to date, it is not, so far, possible to connect the surviving names of the early Mittani rulers with these events. The rule of the most important of these kings, Sauštatar, can most plausibly be dated to the period after Thutmosis III's campaigns. Sauštatar achieved the reunification of the shattered kingdom of Mittani, he overcame Assur, which had tried to forestall him by entering in to an alliance with Egypt, he was overlord of Mukiš (Alalakh), controlling access to the Mediterranean coast but also of Ugarit, the most important trading town of the northern Levant, and even asserted his supremacy over the kingdom of Kizzuwatna in Cilicia. It goes without saying that the domination of Halab was included in this policy of expansion. In the east, finally, the king of Arrapha was his vassal, so that his dominion extended from the Zagros mountains to the Mediterranean and embraced the whole Hurrian-speaking land.

Sauštatar had his seat in the town of Waššukkanni. It has generally been assumed that this name developed to Uššukani in the Middle Assyrian period and then to Sikāni (Opitz 1927). According to an Assyrian inscription (Grayson 1976:90), the latter place lies at the "source of the Habur" that is, at what is now Ra's al-^cAin, and it has just recently proved possible to identify it conclusively with Tell Fakhariyah. It is, however, open to doubt whether Sikāni is really a later form of Waššukkanni/Uššukani, because there was already a town Sigan existing in the Hābūr region in the Ur III period (Edzard/Farber 1974). Further, neutron activation analysis of the letters of king Tušratta of Mittani, probably written in Waššukkanni, has shown that the trace elements in these clay tablets are very different from those of the tablets from the Middle Assyrian period found in Tell Fakharija itself (Dobel et al., 1977). Waššukkanni probably lay further to the north, somewhere around Mardin (Goetze 1957:67), or more likely, to its west or north-west.

Since neither the capital nor any other centres in the Mittani kingdom have so far yielded historical source-material, we are thrown back onto the scanty evidence found on the borderlands. So the only surviving letter of a Mittanian king from the time before the Amarna period comes from the town of Nuzi, belonging to Arrapha. It bears the seal of king Sauštatar, and consequently has been attributed to this king. Since, however, the seal has also been used by later kings, the unnamed sender of the letter might be one of the successors of Sauštatar (oral comm. D. Stein). The seal also gives us the name of Sauštatar's father: Parsatatar. Two tablets found in Alalakh which record judicial decisions taken by Sauštatar are authenticated with the

so-called "dynastic seal", which had belonged to a predecessor and for some unknown reason had not been superseded ; the same practice is attested in Alalakh, Ugarit, and Amurru (Klengel 1965:175).

The "dynastic seal" of Mittani bears the legend "Šuttarna, son of Kirta, king of Maitani", and so provides us with the names of two kings who are otherwise unknown. The name of Šuttarna recurs several times in the line of the kings of Mittani, and king Kirta has been put forward as a possible candidate for the original of the mythical king Krt in an Ugaritic epic (Albright 1968:103, Astour 1973:32), but of course it is not possible to prove this. It is not at all certain when the two kings ruled; it may be that they can be allocated the years between Parrattarna, the enemy and subsequent overlord of Alalakh (around 1470) and Parsatatar (around 1440).

This, however, depends on our interpretation of a list from the palace archives at Nuzi, which refers to the death of a king Parrattarna (see below p. 76) and which was written at about the same time as the letter with the seal of Sauštatar mentioned above. The text does not actually say that it is about a king of Mittani, but this seems very plausible, since the kings of Arrapha/Nuzi have Hurrian throne names rather than Indo-Aryan ones. Until now, it has always been assumed that this Parrattarna is the same as the identically-named overlord of Idrimi; but this overlooks the fact that there is a considerable time gap, perhaps forty to fifty years or even longer, between the two sources (Wilhelm 1976b). It is therefore perfectly possible that kings Kirta and Šuttarna I date from this period, and that we should accordingly insert a king Parrattarna II immediately after Sauštatar, even though he may have reigned only for a short time.

The conflicts that arose between Egypt and the kingdom of Mittani over the control of Syria continued into the reign of Thutmosis IV (1400-1390 B.C.); he has left us an account of a campaign against Nahrtna. Yet during his lifetime a fundamental change took place in the relationships between the two great powers: after preliminary diplomatic contacts had been established at the time of Amenophis II (1428-1400 B.C.) (Kühne 1973:20 n.85), a permanent peace treaty was signed, and sealed by a dynastic marriage. Artatama I, king of Mittani and successor, perhaps son, to Sauštatar, sent one of his daughters as bride to the pharaoh, but only, as we read in the letter written two generations later that contains these details, after seven requests ; these should be interpreted as prolonged negotiations and suggest that the two powers were on a more or less equal footing.

There is no doubt that these events resulted in the fixing of their common frontier in Syria which remained in force throughout the ensuing decades. On the coast, Egyptian supremacy extended further than it did in the hinterland, and included the trade centre of Ugarit. In the Orontes

valley, the frontier lay somewhere on the plain of what is now Homs (Klengel 1969:21); the towns of Tunip and Qatna still fell under the jurisdiction of Mittani, while Egypt exerted its supremacy as far as Qadesh and the land of Amurru.

The peace treaty between Mittani and Egypt has mostly been linked with the Hittite threat. Unfortunately, the phase in Hittite history immediately before the time of the empire is still very obscure, and the few events that we do know about have so far been difficult to reconcile with Mittani history. It is quite possible that a Hittite conquest of Aleppo reported in our sources is to be dated to this period. Though it was only a short interlude, it may have persuaded the Mittanian king to negotiate peace with Egypt. This was all the more in their mutual interest as internal conditions within the two kingdoms became more strained, thus preventing further attempts at expansion. In fact, two generations later both kingdoms evinced surprising internal instability and military inactivity which cannot be attributed to the sudden emergence of an external enemy.

Another important event on the Hittite border indicates that Mittani was past the zenith of its glory. The kingdom of Kizzuwatna (see above p. 32f., 37) had in the second half of the 15th century become a dependent of Mittani. Sauštatar appears in one record (Wiseman 1953 no.14) as the judge in a legal quarrel between king Niqmepa of Alalakh and one Šunaššura, whom we can safely identify as king of Kizzuwatna. About 1400, the king of Kizzuwatna – also Šunaššura – extricated himself from the patronage of Mittani; he approached the kingdom of Hatti and indeed signed a state treaty with them, whose text has survived (Weidner 1923) although unfortunately the name of the Hittite king has not. Suppiluliuma I has for a long time been considered the Hittite contractual partner of the king of Kizzuwatna. According to recent research, however, the treaty was most likely entered into by Tuthaliya II (Beal 1986, Wilhelm 1988). The historical introduction to the text reflects a situation in which the Hittites are still on the defensive towards the Hurrians on their eastern border. The treaty guaranteed Kizzuwatna considerable autonomy from the Hittites (Liverani 1973). An older treaty is relevant here, which takes into account Kizzuwatna's connections with Mittani and which was to become invalid once the new agreement was promulgated. It must surely be correct to identify this older treaty with a fragmentary text mentioning Šunaššura (Meyer 1953). It is, however, still an open question whether the Šunaššura of the state treaties is the same man as the king of the same name from the time of Sauštatar; if he is, he must be credited with many years on the throne.

The revised dating for the Šunaššura treaty gives us a clearer impression of Kizzuwatna's history than we have yet had. The text states

that at the time of the grandfather of the Hittite signatory, Kizzuwatna had been part of the Hittite kingdom, but had then fallen to the Hurrians. The change of rulers that ensued in Kizzuwatna would then have occurred at a period when the expansion of the Mittani kingdom under Saušatar, overlord, as we have seen, in Kizzuwatna, was at its height. Kizzuwatna's return to Hittite supremacy coincides with a period of Hittite expansion under Tuthaliya I ("II"), who was able to campaign in western Anatolia and even conquer Aleppo.

Not long after the treaty was signed, Kizzuwatna was completely incorporated into the Hatti kingdom. A later survey of the Tuthaliya years portrays Kizzuwatna as part of the Hittite kingdom (Laroche 1971, no. 88). When we read that a king Tuthaliya transferred the cult of the "Black Goddess" (see below p. 102) from Kizzuwatna to Šamuha (Kronasser 1963), it seems obvious to relate this information to the conquest of the region.

Under Arnuwanda I, Tuthaliya's successor, Kizzuwatna was still felt to be a special unit alongside Hatti, while still remaining part of the kingdom as a whole; we can see this reflected in the Išmerikka treaty (Kempinski/Košak 1969/70), which probably dates from this period. This explains and illuminates the recent observation that it was precisely under Arnuwanda I that Hattuša was affected by powerful Hurrian influences emanating from Kizzuwatna and apparent in the absorption of a rich tradition of Hurrian ritual. In the first decades of Hittite domination, Hittite princes were in charge of the religious duties which had previously been fulfilled by the Kizzuwatnean kings. Šuttarna II, the son and heir of Artatama, dispatched one of his daughters, Kelu-hepa, to join the pharaoh's harem, an event that took place in 1381 or 1380 B.C., the tenth year of Amenophis III's reign (1390-1352 B.C.). The harmonious relationships between Mittani and Egypt are reflected in Šuttarna's reaction to news of the pharaoh's illness: he sent him the therapeutic statue of the goddess Ištar/Šawuška of Nineveh. Probably it was also he who succeeded in regaining for Mittani the mountain area of Išua on the upper Euphrates, which had temporarily been in the hands of the Hittites.

Šuttarna's heir was his son Artasumara, and the achievements of his reign are attested by a source found in 1984 in Tell Brāk (Finkel 1985:191-194, Pl. XXXIV). The seal impressed on this tablet is that of Artasumara's forefather Saušatar; similar to the seal of Šuttarna I, it had become a "dynastic seal". At the end of Artasumara's reign, the land was riven by power struggles. Even though individual events are not entirely clear and have been subject to varying interpretations (Gelb 1944:77, Mayrhofer 1966:34f. n.4), the following reconstruction is not implausible. Artasumara, was murdered, and the murderer, Uthi, obviously not a member

of the royal family, installed Tušratta, a son of Šuttarna's and a minor, on the throne as puppet king. During his regency, diplomatic relations with Egypt were broken off, not to be resumed until Tušratta managed to dispose of his brother's murderer and thus to go some way towards removing the stain of his illegal rule (Kühne 1973:18ff.). Apparently, though, the conspirators against Artatama had been unable to win recognition from all forces in the land, for in the following decades we hear of a Hurrian king bearing the name of Artatama, a mark of his membership of the dynasty and of his claim to the throne. He later entered into an alliance with the Hittites, who, having eliminated Arzawa as an independent power and pacified northern Anatolia, were once again looking to Syria, their traditional field of expansion. Opinions differ as to whether Artatama II actually ruled over a region in the north-east of the Mittani kingdom (Goetze 1957:67f.) or was no more than a king by name, a grace and favour post from the Hittites (Kühne 1973:19 n.82). The fact that, shortly before Amenophis III's death, Tušratta sent him once again the Nineveh statue of Ištar/Šawuška is no reason to assume that he had in his control the town of Nineveh in the north of Assyria. The deity enjoyed international veneration, and it may be that the statue to be sent was in fact the image of the goddess that was worshipped in Tušratta's capital of Waššukkanni (Kühne 1973:37 n.177). But if Artatama or his son Šuttarna III were on the throne as weaker allies of the Assyrians, we may assume that the claimants had an independent power base in the north-east.

Where Tušratta's reign is concerned, our principal sources are the Egyptian state archives from Amarna in Middle Egypt and the account of the deeds of the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma (Güterbock 1956); this is much more than we have for the entire previous history of Mittani. Here too, however, the difficulty lies in establishing a relative chronology of reported events, for without it we cannot hope to produce even a sketchy reconstruction of what happened.

In his first letter to the pharaoh, Tušratta not only told him of the circumstances of his accession and of his eventual rise to power, but also how he successfully defended Mittani territory from a Hittite attack. As proof, his envoys brought the pharaoh part of the Hittite booty. This first Hittite attack on the kingdom of Mittani, which can probably be assigned to somewhere between 1470 and 1460 B.C., is generally supposed to have been led by the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma. This assumption is largely based on the fact that military operations immediately preceding Šuppiluliuma's accession were concentrated entirely on the consolidation of the kingdom of Hatti, which had been brought to the brink of collapse by the incursions of the north Anatolian Kaškaeans (von Schuler 1965). At a time when

Šuppiluliuma, a grown prince, was leading campaigns as his father's representative, the Hittite king was even occupying temporary quarters in Šamuha because Hattuša had been destroyed by the Kaškaeans. On the other hand, Tušratta may have exaggerated the victory over the Hittites, and it may be that it was really nothing more than a border skirmish over the land of Išuwa on the upper Euphrates, claimed by both sides.

To begin with, events on the north-western border had no significant effect on the survival of the kingdom of Mittani. At any rate, according to the document in which Tušratta tells of a victory over the Hittites, the letters he addressed to his Egyptian ally do not give any indication of a serious threat to Mittani's position. His correspondence with Amenophis III deals in particular with the projected marriage between the pharaoh and a daughter of Tušratta's, a connection favoured by both parties and faithful to the tradition of friendly relationships inaugurated by Artatama I.

Negotiations to this end, especially about the size of the dowry, were prolonged over several years, and this is an appropriate point to mention the most important document in Hurrian studies, known as the "Mittani letter" (see above p. 1). Unlike Tušratta's other letters which are all in Akkadian ("Hurro-Akkadian"), this one, of which several long passages are well-preserved, uses Hurrian. Since it is similar to Tušratta's Akkadian letters in subject-matter and style, it was possible to infer at least part of its meaning and thereby to lay down the fundamentals of Hurrian grammar. Most likely the document accompanied Princess Tatu-hepa on her journey to the pharaoh's court (Kühne 1973:33). Perhaps the following extract will give some idea of contemporary diplomatic correspondence:

To Nimmuriya, the king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law whom I love and who loves me, say: thus says Tušratta, the king of the land of Mittani, your father-in-law who loves you, your brother. I am in good health. May you be in good health. May my son-in-law, your wives, your children, your dignitaries, your horses, your chariots, your troops, your land and your possessions be in very good health!

And my brother has wished for a wife ... and now I have given her, and she has gone to my brother ...

And now I have given a wife of my brother, and she has gone to my brother. When she comes, my brother will see her ... And she comes, she is *pleasing* to my brother according to my brother's heart. And my brother will again see a dowry ...

And when now the wife of my brother comes, when she shows herself to my brother, *may my ... be shown*. And may my brother assemble the whole land and all other lands and may the nobles (and) all ambassadors be

present. And *may* his dowry *be shown* to my brother and may everything be *delightful* in the face of my brother ... And may the dowry be *delightful*, and may it be *pleasing*!

And now there is my father's daughter, my sister. And the tablet of her dowry is to hand. And my grandfather's daughter, the sister of my father, is there. And the tablet of her dowry is also to hand. May my brother receive their tablets, and may he hear the (words) of their two (tablets). And may he receive from me the tablet of the dowry which I gave, and may my brother hear that the dowry is large, that it is beautiful, that it is seemly for my brother.

Further, I want to say one thing to my brother, and may my brother hear it ... The things that Artatama, my grandfather, has done for your father are ... and with my consignment I have increased them tenfold ...

And may my brother *enrich* me in the eyes of my country. And may my brother not sadden my heart! *For that* ... I have wished from my brother a statue cast in gold of my daughter. I know that my brother loves my person from his heart in a very, very high degree, but I also know that my brother in his country gold ... much ... And, in addition to that, may my brother give an ivory statue ... This statue cast in gold is Tatu-hepa, the daughter of Tušratta, lord of Mittani, whom he has given to Immuriya, lord of Egypt, as his wife. And Immuriya has made a statue cast in gold, and he has lovingly sent it to Tušratta.

And because of all this we both love each other in a very, very high degree. And *peace rules* in our land. Would that an enemy of my brother did not exist! But if furthermore an enemy to my brother should *force his way into* his land, my brother shall send to me, and the Hurrian land, armour, weapons, and everything else shall be put at his disposal with regard to my brother's enemy. But if on the other hand an enemy of mine should exist - would that he did not exist! -, I shall send to my brother, and my brother shall send the Egyptian land, armour, weapons, and everything else with regard to my enemy ...

... And if anyone should speak any evil word to my brother relating to me (or) relating to my land, may my brother not hear those words, if Mane and Keliya (the Egyptian and the Mittani ambassadors) do not say them. But the (words) which Mane and Keliya say relating to me (or) relating to my land, they are true and right, and may my brother hear them! Again, if anyone should express anything to me relating to my brother (or) relating to his land, I will not hear them (=the words), if Keliya and Mane do not say them. But what Keliya and Mane say relating to my brother (or) relating to his land, they (=the words) are true and right, and I will hear them!

And now, all the things that my brother has named, that he desires,

these I have done. tenfold. And further, I have not saddened my brother's heart by *any* thing. I have given the wife of my brother, who is *pleasing* to the heart of my brother. Now I have sent Mane, the ambassador of my brother, now also Keliya and Ar-Teššup and Asali, my ambassadors - Keliya is a dignitary, Asali is as my clay tablet scribe ...-, to my brother in a very fine fashion, and my brother will see them.

And may my brother not hold back my ambassadors ... And may my brother let my ambassadors go very speedily. And I should like to hear (of the) well-being (and the) *good condition* of my brother, and I should rejoice much at the well-being of my brother.

My brother might say: "You *yourself* have also held back my ambassadors!" No, I have not held them back ...

May my brother let my ambassadors go very speedily, and they shall set off! And may my brother send Mane with them, and may he set off together with my ambassador! May my brother not send another ambassador, may he only send Mane! If my brother does not send Mane and does send another, I shall not wish him well, and may my brother know it. No, may my brother send Mane!

...

And in my heart I wish to be on good terms with my brother in very high degree and that we may mutually harbour love. And *may* my brother keep faith in a very high degree. And we want to be good (to each other), in our heart *we want to love each other* ... As our life (and) our fate *are ordered* by Šeri (and) your god, may the gods lead us both together, Teššup and Amanu, our lords, our fathers, and may we be protected ... And among ourselves let us love each other in brotherly fashion and *close alliance*. As man loves the sun god ..., so let us love each other

Along with Tušratta's constant'y reiterated requests for more and larger consignments of gold, there is one interesting remark that links the hoped-for gold with a projected mausoleum (?) (*karašk-*) for the king's grandfather, Artatama I. The emphasis on his concern for the royal ancestor may be connected with Tušratta's dubious legitimacy.

A few years after the marriage with Tatu-hepa was finalised, Amenophis III died. Under his successor Amenophis IV, who under the name of Akhenaten devoted himself to a programme of religious reform, formal relationships with Mittani became soured by resentment at the inadequate supplies of gold sent by Egypt. Ambassadors were kept back on both sides, special envoys were dispatched, previous good relations were recalled, family ties were invoked; all to no avail: in the end all contact ceased. The pharaoh's growing indifference to good diplomatic connections

with Mittani may reflect the fact that Mittani had meanwhile been forced onto the defensive by the Hittites and had forfeited its position as the most important power in the Near East along with Egypt and Babylonia.

Meanwhile in Hatti the energetic prince Suppiluliuma, who had already played an active part during his father's lifetime in the restoration of the kingdom after the catastrophic Kaškaean attacks, had usurped the monarchy. Neither the exact circumstances nor the date of this have yet emerged; a letter of Suppiluliuma's has come down to us which congratulates a certain pharaoh on his accession, which may refer to Smenkhkare. Most likely Suppiluliuma ascended the throne later than Akhenaten (Wilhelm/Boese 1987), and there is hardly any doubt that his important military manoeuvres on the Near Eastern scene did not take place earlier than the late forties, maybe even as late as the twenties of the 14th century B.C..

Suppiluliuma took advantage of the wrangles about the right to the Mittani throne, which probably dated back to Tušratta's accession, and entered into an alliance with the pretender Artatama II (see above p. 31). At some uncertain date, he had secured the support of Assyria, which had freed itself from Mittani supremacy in the mid-14th century B.C. and had claimed equality with the "Hanigalbatean king", as Aššur-uballit of Assyria described his one-time overlord Tušratta in a letter to the pharaoh. Amenophis IV had accepted this intimation of Assyrian independence, perhaps because his relations with Tušratta had suffered a cooling-off in the interim. At any rate, the king of Babylon had attempted to turn the downfall of the kingdom of Mittani to his own advantage and had brought into play traditional claims on Mittani's vassal states in the east, Assyria and probably Arrapha as well. This is the political climate in which the Babylonians were induced to march into the land of Arrapha; after a battle at the border town of Lubdi they laid it waste as far as the Lower Zab, while the more northerly areas were occupied by the Assyrians. Along with the land of Alše in the north of Mittani (Kessler 1980), Assyria was able to establish a front against Tušratta's forces in the north-east, which was allied with Suppiluliuma and his manoeuvres in the west through the pretender Artatama. This joint threat from three sides simultaneously was to lead to the rapid downfall of Mittani.

Along with his army, Šuppiluliuma crossed the upper Euphrates, conquered Išuwa as far as the border with Alše, and handed over the just acquired town of Kutmar to its king Antar-atli. Then he advanced southwards, towards the centre of the kingdom of Mittani. But since Tušratta evaded the challenge of a final decisive battle, Šuppiluliuma turned westwards, crossed the Euphrates again, and in a single campaign conquered all the territories belonging to Mittani between the Euphrates bend and the

Mediterranean, except the town of Carchemish. He swore in the local princes as his vassals. After encountering some opposition from the king of Qadesh, formerly an Egyptian subordinate, he continued his advance to Lebanon. Faced with this proof of overwhelming power and of the inertia of his Egyptian suzerain, the king of the land of Amurru also bowed to Šuppiluliuma's supremacy, a change indeed from the Egyptian domination that had gone unchallenged for generations and which was now subjected to prolonged conflict that was only resolved more than fifty years later, when Rameses II and Hattušili III signed a peace accord.

Tušratta's hopes of regaining Nuhašše by force were doomed to failure, in spite of fleeting success which brought the Mittani army to Egyptian territory, when a reinforcing Hittite army joined the fray.

Šuppiluliuma entrusted the final subjection of Syria first to a general called Lupakki and to his own son Telipinu, who also bore the title of a "priest" of the weather-god in Kummanni, the capital of Kizzuwatna. A counter attack by the Hurrians and the Egyptians caused Šuppiluliuma to make another appearance on the scene of battle in Syria. Mittani's apparent ability, moreover, to put up resistance at this stage of the split indicates that Tušratta was still alive at this time and that his supremacy had not waned to the point of total collapse.

While Šuppiluliuma embarked on the siege of Carchemish, his general Lupakki beat back the Egyptian troops, who had attempted to recapture Qadesh. This was the setting for the famous episode described in the account of Šuppiluliuma's deeds: the pharaoh dies, and his widow asks the Hittite king to send her one of his sons as husband and king. Only after some hesitation does Šuppiluliuma accede to her request, but the prince is murdered on the journey to Egypt. Unfortunately we cannot be absolutely sure whose widow it was that contemplated such unusual arrangements for the succession to the Egyptian throne; arguments have recently been put forward for Meritaten, the daughter of Akhenaten (1352-1336 B.C.), wife of Smenkhkare (Krauss 1979 Wilhelm/Boese 1979).

While this was going on, the Hittite troops captured Carchemish; being the most important stronghold on the Euphrates, it was of great strategic importance, but was also so much respected as the religious seat of the goddess Kubaba(t), worshipped since the time of the Old Assyrian trading settlements, that the citadel with its temples was left untouched and only the lower city was sacked. In Carchemishh, Šuppiluliuma set up his son Piyaššili as king, who adopted the Hurrian throne-name of Šarri-kušuh (Güterbock 1956:120f., Kammenhuber 1976:182); almost all his successors also had Hurrian names, which all goes to show that even in Carchemish Hurrian traditions had taken over (see above p. 22). Another of Šuppiluliuma's sons,

the "priest" Telipinu referred to above, was installed as king in Halab, doubtless because it was the centre of worship for a local form of the Hurrian weather-god Teššup, long revered by the Hittites, and already served by Telipinu in his capacity as priest in Kummanni.

It was probably not until now, when he had finally lost control of the parts of his kingdom on the western Euphrates, that Tušratta was murdered by one of his sons. Even he would not have been in a position to restore the independence of Mittani, and it was Šuttarna III, son of Artatama II (still alive but advanced in years), who with the help of his allies from Assyria and Alše succeeded in capturing Mittani, including its capital city. The palace treasures made their way to Assur, and a large number of Mittani's charioteers were delivered up to Alše and impaled in Taide. Although the report (Weidner 1923 no. 2) containing these details gives the impression that this was an act of vengeance on the part of Šuttarna and that he himself was the driving force behind these events, it seems more likely that he was actually a mere pawn of his allies. This is clear from the Hittite reaction after Šuppiluliuma had crushed a revolt in northern Anatolia. Since Assyria's domain now extended to the Euphrates bend, the Hittite king had no hesitation in revising the coalition agreement at the first favourable opportunity, so as to withdraw Mittani from the Assyrian and to incorporate it into the Hittite sphere of influence. This opportunity arose with the emergence of another of Tušratta's sons, Šattiwaza.

Following his escape from death at the hands of a certain Akit-teššup, who may have been the murderer of Tušratta, and after the collapse of Mittani, Šattiwaza had fled the country, taking with him a small band of charioteers. His bid to find refuge in Babylonia failed, and he beat a retreat to Hittite territory, meeting Šuppiluliuma at the river Halys with a request for protection.

Šuppiluliuma seized this opportunity to set up a puppet candidate of his own choosing in opposition to the Assyrian protege Šuttarna III. He assured himself of Šattiwaza's loyalty by marrying him off to one of his daughters and gave him the military support of his son Šarri-kušuh, based in Carchemish, who appears to have won back the most important towns of Mittani, including Waššukkanni. This new state of affairs was confirmed by a state treaty signed between Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza: Mittani was reconstituted as a kingdom for Šattiwaza but remained subject to the supremacy of the Hittite Great King. We do not know how far east the restored Mittani extended but it seems probable that it was greatly reduced. From the colophon of the surviving copy of the treaty it appears that Šattiwaza chose this name (certainly Indo-Aryan: see above p. 18) as his throne-name and that his private name was Hurrian: Kili-teššup (Güterbock

Oddly enough, Artatama's rights were expressly catered for in the treaty: it was laid down that Šattiwaza was to be his successor (*terdennu*). This probably means that Šuppiluliuma did not want to perpetrate a formal infringement of the previous treaty concluded with Artatama, thus exposing himself to divine retribution; nevertheless, he considered Artatama no more than the nominal king of all Hurrian territory, of which Mittani, though the most important, was only a part. So it was possible that Šattiwaza, while replacing Artatama's son Šuttarna III as king of Mittani, did at the same time accept Artatama's supremacy as legitimate at least in theory (pace Liverani 1962). If this is correct, the idea behind the proposals for accession included claims on territory that was not effectively controlled by Šattiwaza or by the Hittite Great King supporting him, in particular north-east Mesopotamia.

Such claims far exceeded existing political realities. An epidemic that raged for years, revolts in Anatolia, the deaths of Šuppiluliuma and shortly afterwards of his successor Arnuwanda II all exposed the Hatti kingdom itself to real danger. Under these circumstances, there was no longer any question of an effective control of areas to the east of the Euphrates. Šattiwaza's subsequent fate is unknown, but it seems likely that he achieved a degree of internal stability in Mittani. It appears too that the Assyrian threat receded to a great extent towards the end of Aššur-urballit's reign, so that Šattiwaza reckoned he could dispense with the support of his Hittite overlord. At the beginning of the rule of the Hittite king Muṣili II (about 1320) Mittani defected; one of his prayers states that Mittani was "quarrelsome, godless, and oath-breaking" (Heinhold-Krahmer 1976:94), and this doubtless refers to the breaking of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza. This would rank as one of the latest appearances of the name of Mittani, except that it must not be forgotten that the prayer "may be repeating formal expressions based on a model" (Ottén 1969:29). The latest occurrence of the name is in fact found in the time of Tiglathpileser I (1114-1076 B.C.) (Grayson 1976:16).

Sources from the Hittite capital do not provide us with any more useful facts about subsequent events in Mittani. There are a few examples of the correspondence between Hittite Great Kings and the kings of Hanigalbat, as Mittani is known in Akkadian texts (see p. 25 above), but they cannot be dated with any precision and their content is not very revealing (Klengel 1963; von Weiher 1972-75). It is only with 13th century Assyrian sources that we have texts of any real interest (Weidner 1969, Harrak 1987).

During the long reigns of Assyria's three most important rulers, Adad-nerari I (1295-1264 B.C.), Shalmaneser I (1263-1234 B.C.) and

Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233-1197 B.C.), its primary concern in foreign policy was the conquest of Northern Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrates. The name of the reigning king of Hanigalbat at the beginning of the 13th century appears in an inscription of Adad-nerari's: Šattuara I, whose Indo-Aryan throne-name indicates that he adhered to the tradition of the Mittani kings. Probably he succeeded Šattiwaza, whose name reappears back-to-front as Wasašatta, Šattuara's son and heir (Zaccagnini 1974:33, Mayrhofer 1974:28). We learn from the text that the most important seat was no longer Waššukkanni (now known as Uššukani), the recent victim of repeated conquest and pillage, but Taide, probably not very far away. This town had already been the residence of Šattiwaza's rival, Šuttarna III, supported as he was by the Assyrians (Güterbock 1956:111), but had then been recaptured on Šattiwaza's behalf by the Hittites. In view of the Assyrian threat, Wasašatta sought help from the Hittites: this was promised but never actually given, most likely because the split with Egypt had reached a new crisis at this time (Battle at Qadesh 1275 B.C.).

The text, intended in its original version for Adad-nerari's new palace in the just-captured Taide, runs:

When Šattuara, king of Hanigalbat, felt hostility towards me and took hostile measures against me, on the orders of Assur, my lord, my helper, and of the great gods, my counsellors I took him and brought him to my town, Assur. I put him under oath and then let him go to his land. But every year as long as he lived I received his gifts in my town Assur.

After him his son Wasašatta rose up and felt hostility and took hostile measures. He approached the land of Hattu for help. Hattu took his gift, but did not give him help. With the mighty weapons of Assur, my lord, in the protection of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, Šin, Šamaš, Adad, Ištar, and Nerigal the powerful one among the gods, the terrible gods, my lords, I conquered Taide, the great town of his kingdom, Amasaku, Kahat, Šuru, Napulu, Hurru, Šuduhu and Uššukanu and took them into my possession. The property of these towns, the possession of his fathers, the treasure of his palace I took away and brought to my town Assur.

Irride I overcame, I burnt, I tore down, and on it I sowed tares.

The great gods gave me (the region) from Taide to Irride, Eluhāt, and Kašiyaeri (= Tur-^cAbdIn) to its boundary, the district of Šudu, the district of Harrān to the bank of the Euphrates, and I ruled over (them). On the rest of his troops I imposed forced labour ("pick, shovel, and carrying-basket"). I led his (=Wasašatta's) wives of his palace, his sons, his daughters, and his troops out of Irride and brought them, captive and bound, into my town Assur; Irride and the places in the region of Irride I conquered, burnt, tore down ...

It would certainly be wrong to take this report to mean that Adad-nerari had succeeded in incorporating into the Assyrian domains the administration of the extensive and sometimes almost inaccessible terrain that he crossed, pillaging as he went. In all probability he only maintained permanent control over the Hābūr, its source rivers, and parts of Tūr-^cAbdŋn, and this may have been why he erected his new palace in Taide. At any rate, Wasašatta did not fall into the hands of the Assyrian king, and seems to have been able to reestablish his supremacy, especially since after the peace signed with Egypt in 1259 B.C., Hittite foreign policy concentrated once more on suppressing Assyrian moves for expansion. But the fertile regions in the eastern Hābūr triangle, once the cultural and economic hub of the Mittani kingdom, remained uncontested as Assyrian possessions, and even the Hittite king was reluctantly forced to recognise Assyria's new and dominating role (Otten 1959/60).

Sattuara II, Wasašatta's heir, was able, with help from the Hittites and from the newly emergent Aramaic tribes on the Ahlamū, to take a stand against the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I (1263-1234 B.C.). It is true that in an inscription (Grayson 1972:82) Shalmaneser claims to have won a convincing victory over the king of Hanigalbat, but his statements about this campaign are startlingly inaccurate as to the names of places, while the part of the text listing the towns he claims to have vanquished is actually borrowed from his father's inscription quoted above (Grayson 1972:83 n.178). Still, Shalmaneser's reference to the "difficult paths and passes" that he had to overcome on his way to Hanigalbat does suggest that the power-centre of the land was then to be found in Tūr-^cAbdŋn or to its west and north.

Shalmaneser's successor, Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233-1197 B.C.) tells us that the "Subarians", his deliberately old-fashioned and literary name for the Hurrians, rose up against his father and refused to pay tribute – yet another indication that Shalmaneser had not had much success in his struggles against Hanigalbat. Tukulti-Ninurta himself embarked on a campaign against a Hurrian coalition that included among others the land of Alze (Alše, see above p. 35; Golovleva 1978), the land of Amadanu (around Diyarbakur) and the land of Purulumzi. Perhaps we can trace the last-named to the Hurrian word for "temple" (*purli*, *purul-le*), and the name of Ehli-teššup, the king of Alze, is also Hurrian. His attempts to pacify the Hurrian regions involved large-scale deportation (Freydank 1980).

The last remnants of the Mittani kingdom fell victim less to the Assyrian kings than to population upheavals in Anatolia. At the beginning of the 12th century the Hittite kingdom collapsed: its capital city went up in

flames, and Hittite traditions were only preserved in its south-eastern territory. Old-established races like the Kaškaeans and the Luwians became uprooted, as a result not only of a catastrophic decline in agricultural production but also of the migration of new peoples, in particular the Phrygians. We do not know how much longer the state of Hanigalbat survived. As late as the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 12th centuries B.C., there is a reference to a king Atal-teššup of Hanigalbat (Millard 1970). In the inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian kings, Hanigalbat only occurs as a regional name for a large area extending from Tur^cAbdŕn to the country round Harrān, since dominated politically and probably also demographically by Aramean tribes.

When the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser (1114-1076 B.C.) embarked on campaigns to the north and north-east of his kingdom, ending a long period of internal instability and external impotence, he encountered a new situation: a people by the name of Mušku, generally thought to be Phrygian, had occupied the Hurrian states of Alze and Purulumzi and most recently the land of Katmuhi. In connection with these campaigns, we learn of some minor states on the upper Tigris, on the Bohtan Su and Bitlis Çay, some of which have unmistakably Hurrian names like Paphe ("the mountainous") and Urrahinaš ("the land behind"?), and kings with indubitably Hurrian names like Kili-teššup, son of Kali-teššup, and Sadi-teššup, son of Hattuhhe. The Hurrian language seems to have survived here, too, assuming that the explanation of the ruler's title *irrupi* as the Hurrian *evr* = iff "my lord" is correct (Gelb 1944:82).

In the mountains to the south and south-east of Lake Van, which we may assume to have been the oldest homeland of the Hurrians, Hurrian proper names persist at least until Assyrian sources dry up (Gelb 1944:83), and so we cannot tell exactly when the Hurrian language died out. From an historical point of view, these lands are not of great significance; they were no more than the battleground for periodic struggles between two well-matched opponents, the Assyrians and the Urartians. The latter are linguistically related to the Hurrians, but the split between the two languages may already have taken place in the third millennium. From their land of origin to the south-east of Lake Van, they set up a kingdom during the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. that reached to the Euphrates in the west, to Lake Urmia in the east, and to the Transcaucasus in the north. Urartian culture is heavily marked with the stamp of Assyrian civilisation, and its religion has very little in common with Hurrian cults. The only real link between Urartians and Hurrians is linguistic; historical tradition plays no part, and so an account of Urartian history and culture lies outside the scope of this book (Wilhelm 1986).

SOCIETY AND TRADE

From the Hurrian myths and rituals we gain the impression that hunting was an important source of food in their prehistory (see below p. 63); as late as the 14th century the Mittani bow was highly prized far beyond their own frontiers (Klengel 1978:100). But this does not imply that the Hurrians were not familiar with agriculture before they first appear in written reports of Near Eastern history. Certainly, early Transcaucasian civilisation of the 3rd millennium - the Hurrians were probably living there in the south-east before they penetrated to the Fertile Crescent - was already based on agriculture and animal husbandry (Burney/Lang 1975:89ff.).

Waves of Hurrians, encouraged by a favourable political situation (see p. 15f. above) and by population pressure (p. 14), poured into the Fertile Crescent and settled mostly in those areas where the annual average rainfall is more than 200mm. and the soil is of a terra rossa or loess type. In such areas, irrigation was of secondary importance for the cultivation of barley, the principal source of food, since although it increased the yield, it was not absolutely essential to growth. The cultivated areas on the middle Euphrates, the lower Balih and Habur, which were totally dependent on irrigation (the "river oases"), remained free from Hurrian colonisation. From an agricultural viewpoint one may identify several self-contained regions, sometimes cut off from each other by strips of infertile land, which correspond with political sections of the kingdom of Mittani (see above p. 27). Going from west to east, these are the Çukurova (the southern part of Kizzuwatna), the ^cAmq plain on the lower Orontes (Alalakh), the Aleppo region (Halab), the area round Hama and Homs on the upper Orontes (Qatna, Qadesh), the Euphrates valley to the north of Meskene (Emar), the north-east Syrian arable plain (Mittani/Hanigalbat), Assyria, and the Kirkuk region (Arrapha).

The villages in these areas were less dependent on supra-local planning and co-operation than those in the irrigation zones of southern Mesopotamia. On the other hand, they had a more developed interest in communal solidarity; founded partly on kin relationships, such a society implies close links between family and land ownership that inhibit the sale or transfer of land. The upper class, who had risen by military conquest and attempts to acquire a share in agricultural production, treated the villages as units, to be given away or exchanged wholesale, and made them collectively liable for any dues or services (Klengel 1978:114).

Such jurisdiction over whole villages was, however, confined to a small

elite, composed principally of the royal families of the various Hurrian states. The numerically far larger upper class called *mariyanni-na* (see p. 19 above) was at first characterised by its military role, but in the course of time they became more intimately concerned with agrarian production: land was assigned to its members that they themselves cultivated as a large or small family unit, often including one or more slaves. In one way or another, they thus participated in the same development that changed the face of agrarian economics, in the east at any rate: the build-up in landed estates. Some *mariyanni-na* rose to be large-scale land-owners, while others lost their assets; while membership of the *mariyannardi* in Arrapha seems to have been limited to those who could afford the upkeep of a chariot, in the west this was no longer required, and eligibility became a question of (hereditary?) social status (Reviv 1972).

Unfortunately the source material for the social, economic, political, military and judicial constitution and institutions is as one-sided as it is for religion. If the latter is attested mostly by evidence from the western fringes of Hurrian civilisation, the richest source of administrative and judicial texts is the land of Arrapha, the eastern frontier of Hurrian territory, which includes the three sites of Nuzi, Kurruhanni, and Arrapha itself. Nevertheless, the sources from Level IV at Alalakh, which was part of the Mittani kingdom and much affected by the Hurrians, counteract any tendency we may have to indulge in hasty generalisations from analysis of the Nuzi material; in any case it goes without saying that economic relationships are determined largely by the nature of the local environment, its ecology, and its resources, and by variations in climate, the water regime, and communications, while the influence of a common language and religious and historical tradition is less significant. So the following outline is confined to the situation in the land of Arrapha between about 1450 and 1340 B.C. Certain features must, however, also have appeared in Mittani in much the same way as in Arrapha, for example the role of the palace as a centre for craft and trade, or the concentration of land ownership with the ensuing fundamental changes to the structure of the elite; I have already referred to these and I shall now examine them in more detail. These changes are particularly interesting as they may have contributed to the sudden collapse of both lands so shortly after the power of Mittani had reached its zenith (Wilhelm 1978).

In the Near East and the Aegean, the second millennium, especially the Later Bronze period, is known as the era of the palace economy. This description is acceptable as long as we do not take it to mean that all economic activity stemmed directly from the palace. In its capacity as economic agent, the palace had only very limited control over agrarian

production, by far the most important sector of the economy; its influence was on the whole that of a state authority which supervised taxation, land allocation, and judicial matters. The idea of a palace economy refers rather to the near-monopoly that the palace enjoyed over foreign trade and its position as a centre for various manual activities, in particular metalwork.

The Nuzi texts (from now on this will include as well the less numerous texts found in Arrapha and Kurruhanni) indicate that several towns in the land of Arrapha had a palace. Unfortunately Akkadian vocabulary is not well-equipped to distinguish the varying dimensions of settlements, and the same word *alu* is used for everything from a tiny hamlet to a large town. So it may be that the places where there was a palace were towns with quite a large population that did not work directly for the palace, like Arrapha or Nuzi, but it is also perfectly possible that it refers essentially to the well-fortified palace buildings themselves, as in the case of Kurruhanni (see also Al-Khalesi 1977). But even in a large town like Nuzi, the palace occupied almost half of the walled area.

It is hard to be precise about the extent of the fields cultivated by the palace. The descriptions in private records (Zaccagnini 1979:163 ff.) frequently refer to the owners of neighbouring fields, private owners in comparison with the "palace" or the "queen" are mentioned in a proportion of roughly 30:1:1. This figure is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the comparative sizes of palace and private property; it could also imply that such properties rarely adjoined each other. However, the villages that are described as being entirely palace possessions were certainly more important for the palace's provision of grain, but it is still not clear how the legal relationship between village and palace respectively was defined, what kind of entitlement each party had, and how the produce was distributed.

Many fields of free landowners carried with them a duty called *ilku*, a word which betrays its origin in the Old Babylonian agricultural regime. Even then, *ilku* was an elusive concept: basically it had to do with the obligations of those farmers who acquired plots of land that could be inherited through the male line but not sold – "crown-land" –, for which they probably had to hand over part of the harvest and perform certain services. It is not clear to what extent this definition applied to the *ilku*-system in Arrapha, nor whether it goes back to a redistribution of land after a conquest at the end of the 16th or beginning of the 15th centuries B.C., rather than reflecting at least a degree of continuity in land ownership since Old Babylonian times. At any rate, the Nuzi texts record the collapse of this institution, since a class of large-scale landowners now intervene between the palace and the farmers with *ilku* duties. But the duties

survived, perhaps along with an annual payment in kind to the palace, though this is admittedly not mentioned in the sources.

The possessions of the queens living in the various palaces around the country were administered separately from the palace fields. It may be that larger pieces of land (*dimātu*), named after kings, should be seen as the personal property of those kings, also distinct from palace administration.

The grain harvest of the palaces was distributed internally, and the following groups consumed the greater part of it: 1. the king, the top government officials, and foreign ambassadors, along with their horses. (The king did not stay permanently in his capital, but progressed from palace to palace in a way that is reminiscent of the Franks; it is possible that limited resources accounted for this as much as did the demands of the judiciary and of the religious calendar). 2. the queens, boy princes and princesses who lived in the palace harem, and also the women described as "singers", of whom there were so many that they must have been slaves, employed additionally as servants and textile workers (see Chow 1973:92, Cassin 1974, Mayer 1978:154). 3. the slaves, a large number of whom worked in wool production.

Lists of rations and staff provide figures that yield certain statistics: in the palace at Zizza the harem sometimes numbered 43, including six princesses and five princes; a slave-list from the palace at Nuzi contains 83 names, including 32 textile workers, 3 joiners, 3 smiths, 2 potters, 4 scribes, 2 basket-weavers, not forgetting among others cooks, bakers, brewers, herdsman, and gardeners (Mayer 1978).

Of all the creative activities of the palace, the production of textiles was the most important. The palace maintained herds of small livestock which were tended not only by its slaves but presumably also, on a larger scale, by freelance shepherds working on a contractual basis. Each palace had to contribute a set quota of garments, without doubt representing Arrapha's principal export.

The sale of the garments was the responsibility of merchants who are mentioned among the palace slaves (in Nuzi there were three). They undertook trading journeys abroad, for which they were given specific commissions to fulfil. Although their first duty lay with the palace, they would also engage in business for private individuals. As well as textiles, slaves were also exported (see also above p. 14), while the principal imports were plant extracts and dyed wool (Zaccagnini 1977:178f.).

As well as its economic role, the palace had a military part to play; the two may well have been linked, since its virtual monopoly in trade meant that it organised the import of metals (apart from precious metals, principally copper, but also tin and iron) which were then mostly

transformed into military equipment by the palace's own craftsmen. The palace possessed an arsenal where armour for warriors and horses and various kinds of weaponry were stored. In case of war, the contingents were apparently armed and equipped by the palace; only members of the chariot troops were responsible for the upkeep of their own horses and chariots (in which they sometimes failed) and most likely had their own weapons. But they too qualified (in wartime?) for an allocation of grain, which was considerably larger than others, since it included fodder for the horses.

As head of state, the king combined administrative, legislative, and judicial functions, but it is not certain whether or to what extent other state institutions participated in government. In the administration of justice, the king was the final arbiter in appeal cases, over and above the local courts (Hayden 1962). Among the government officials the most important were the *šakin māti* and the *sukkallu*, both a kind of minister with unknown responsibilities, the *halzuhlu* ("commander") with equally unknown duties (pace Chow 1973:56), and the *hazannu* (usually translated as "mayor"; Cassin 1974). Just a few royal edicts and orders are known to us, which do give some impression of the king's activities in government. Thus he lays down that the ransom for a citizen who was a victim of foreign slave traders and was bought back by an Arraphean merchant should not exceed a certain sum, that the transference of the *ilku* duties (see above p. 44) of a citizen of the "king's town" to somebody else is out of order, and that palace servants may not set their daughters up as beggars (?) or prostitutes without royal permission. In an order to the *hazannu* they are enjoined to be vigilant against robbers and enemy attacks, and to arrest refugees from Arrapha. Finally, there were socio-political edicts, ordering a cancellation of debts, or dealing in some other way with the problems of the lower classes of the population (Muller 1968, 1971).

A new class of rich landowners grew up from members of the royal family and from a small section, grown wealthy with time, of the charioteering aristocracy (see above pp. 19, 43), and they possessed considerable property. In one case we can get an approximate idea of the agriculturally exploited land of such an estate: it covered at least 286 hectares, a figure which is doubled if we assume a biennial fallow system (Wilhelm 1975).

There are two extensive archives that paint a relatively clear picture of large-scale land ownership: the archive of Tehip-tilla and his heirs (Maidman 1976a, 1976b, 1979), and that of Šilwa-teššup (Wilhelm 1980, 1985). Tehip-tilla was probably related to the king by marriage and occupied an exalted position in the palace; Šilwa-teššup was a prince. Tehip-tilla's archive consists very largely of law reports which show how lands were

accumulated, while Šilwa-teššup's has to do mostly with the administration of the estate.

As I have already said, the property of a large class of free peasants was originally acquired by land allocations, involved *ilku* duties, and could only be inherited, not bought. Land distribution as practised in Arrapha gave the eldest son two shares but all his brothers only one (Paradise 1972); this meant that the individual holdings verged on the uneconomic. Unirrigated areas, at least, were highly dependent on weather conditions, and thus ran the risk of failed harvests leading to debts, which many families doubtless could not repay because their lands were so small. The loan contracts that have come down to us were made with large-scale landowners, which indicates that traditional credit arrangements within villages and families (which are naturally not recorded in our texts) were no longer adequate. These circumstances forced many landowners to sacrifice their independence: since they were not allowed to sell their fields, a legal solution was found which took advantage of the hereditary nature of *ilku* fields. Using the formula for an adoption treaty, a large-scale landowner – in the majority of surviving records it is Tehip-tilla – acquired the ownership of a field which is described as his "inheritance", and gave his "adoptive father" a "present" which was worth somewhere between one and three times the harvest on that same field (Zaccagnini 1975). Furthermore, the seller ordinarily continued to cultivate the same field and remained liable for the same *ilku* duties. This arrangement, of course, only made sense for the landowner if he received a share in the harvest, but unfortunately our sources do not tell us whether this was the case. Nor do we know whether the contract involved personal obligations for the poorer party. At any rate, the result was a three-tier claim on the field. For the heirs to such a property, whose title-deed had gone to a third party by pseudo-adoption, it was not self-evident that this deed should remain in force after the death of the testator and "adopter". However, in such cases all their appeals were rejected. Subsequent accumulation of land rested mostly on a different legal basis, according to which the field of the *ilku* farmer was seen as guarantee on a loan ("antichretic pledge"). We do not know whether or not in this case too he continued to cultivate it, but it seems likely.

Large-scale land ownership mostly imitated the palace for its organisation and economy. However, it did operate independently from it, and, in the case of Prince Šilwa-teššup's property, the two were only linked because he had inherited all or most of it from his royal father and because even the provision of slaves was mostly due to paternal generosity (Wilhelm 1980:179). But even this does not necessarily mean that his estate had previously been involved (see above p. 44).

On Šilwa-teššup's estate, as in the palace, textiles were produced in considerable quantity. Wool was provided by the flocks of sheep and goats belonging to the palace, and was then worked by slave-girls and, to a lesser extent, by slaves. At one point in its development the estate boasted over 240 slaves in all, men, women, and children, grouped in four households. A large part of the harvest revenue went to support them, but even so there was a sizeable surplus, so much, indeed, that loans of grain could be undertaken on a large scale (Owen 1969).

This characteristic development of Arrapha society, by which large-scale land-ownership arose at the expense of the prosperity of small independent farmers, resulted in a new class-structure. The big landowners were increasingly on the lookout for dependent workers, and slavery in particular flourished beyond the bounds of its traditional "patriarchal" form. Nonetheless slavery involved no more than domestic duties and craft activities; in agriculture it was confined to special duties (cowmen, ploughmen) (Wilhelm 1978:210). The principal foreign source of slaves was the land of Lullu in the Zagros; at home, they simply bred. There is also some evidence that foreigners, robbed of their means of livelihood, were forced into slavery (Bottéro 1954:43 ff., Cassin 1958). In practice if not in law, the status of the *tidennu*, who gave his labour as pledge for a loan, resembled that of a slave (Eichler 1973).

We are least well-informed about those classes of Arrapha society who were agricultural employees, either without any land of their own or members of a village that was owned as a whole by the palace or by some grandee. The few pointers that we do have suggest that there were free tenants as well as personally dependent farmers (Wilhelm 1978:211f.). Perhaps systematic research will yield more information; the conclusion that the socio-economic structure of Arrapha was formed largely of "extended family communes" (Jankowska 1969a, 1969b), is not really justified by the texts we have to date.

GODS, MYTHS, CULTS AND MAGIC.

The theology, mythology, cults and rituals of the Hurrians are not a homogenous system; nor would we expect this in view of the large areas they colonised and the wide variety of cultural influences to which they were subject. In the course of history they happened across foreign gods and simply added them to their own pantheon, or else identified them with gods of their own of a similar nature. Hurrian priests copied works of Mesopotamian religious literature and enriched them by the identification of Hurrian with Mesopotamian gods. Three main ingredients emerge from the confused mass that goes by the name of Hurrian religion: traditional practices that the Hurrians brought with them from their oldest known settlements in Kurdistan, Sumerian-Akkadian and west Semitic-Syrian influences (Laroche 1948:133). For the most part, the Sumerian elements do not, as is often supposed, derive from direct borrowings in the third millennium; it is much more likely that they were only transmitted in the second millennium via the elaborate network of north Syrian religion.

Some deities, attested as they are in all second millennium Hurrian territories from the Zagros to the Mediterranean, are certainly among the earliest manifestations of Hurrian religion. At the same time, though, we must remember that their original characteristics were probably affected by their Sumerian, Akkadian, and Syrian counterparts, just as, by contrast, the deities of Asia Minor took on features of their Hurrian equivalents.

Among such pan-Hurrian deities are the weather-god and king of the gods Teššup (pace Gelb 1944:55), also known to the Urartians by the name of Teišeba. One of his ancient centres of worship is the town of Kumme (Kummiya), as yet unidentified but thought to lie in the Kurdish mountains, somewhere around what is now Zāhū near the Iraqi-Turkish border (Reade 1978:177). In myth, Teššup is referred to as "king of Kummiya" (Güterbock 1952). His supreme position over all the other gods (an honour withheld, incidentally, from Teišeba in the Urartian pantheon) was one that he may not have attained till the first half of the second millennium, when he was identified with weather-god figures from the Fertile Crescent who already enjoyed this distinction. At any rate, it is not until then that his name, rare in the third millennium, occurs with any frequency; by the 15th and 14th centuries B/C., however, -teššup has become the commonest god's name as an element of personal names (see above p. 14).

The myths give us just as clear an impression of him as the king of the gods as in his aspect as rain and storm god. Teššup replaces his father

Kumarbi as king of the gods, as Kumarbi had ousted his own father, the sky god Anu. Teššup's weapons are storm, rain, wind, and lightning, and he rides in a four-wheeled chariot drawn by the bulls Šeris and Hurriš (Hurwiš), or Šeris and Tilla in other versions. These attendant bull-deities, whose statues were still standing in the temple of the weather-god Adad in first-millennium Assur (Weidner 1945-51), reflect Teššup's nature as growth-promoting rain-god, even more apparent in the Anatolian weather-god, who was originally conceived in the form of a bull and was still sometimes represented as a bull even after the downfall of the Hittite Empire.

We are not short of evidence of Teššup's supremacy even outside Asia Minor, the source of all the Hurrian myths known to date. In the eyes of the Mittani king Tušratta, Teššup occupies a position at the head of his country's pantheon, as Amanu (Amūn) did in contemporary Egypt, and the name Teššup-ewre ("Teššup is lord") occurs as early as Old Babylonian times (Dalley 1976:263). Almost all the names of the kings of Arrapha contain the divine name Teššup (Kipi-teššup, Ithi-teššup, Hišmi-teššup (?)), and half the princes have similar names. These names are also in keeping with a local tradition, for Arrapha was already a centre for the worship of the weather-god in Old Babylonian times. The Akkadian weather-god Adad, who was merged with Teššup in this area, was never seen as lord of the gods, and this aspect is also absent with Teššup, as worshipped in Ugarit, where he was identified with the god Ba^{cal}. It is true there were mythographical attempts to establish Ba^{cal}'s supremacy (Koch 1979), but otherwise the god El reigned supreme over the other gods in most myths and rituals (Loewenstamm 1979).

In Ugarit, Mount Sapān (ancient name: mons casius, now Jabal al-Aqra^c, on the mouth of the Orontes) was thought to be the abode of Ba^{cal}. In the Hittite-Hurrian world it was deified under the name of Hazzi and became one of Teššup's satellites, along with the still unidentified Mount Namni (Klengel 1970:34f.).

The most important local variant of Teššup is the weather-god of Halab, at first known by his Semitic name of Addu, but merged towards the end of the Old Babylonian period with the Hurrian Teššup. He was honoured everywhere, from Asia Minor (Klengel 1965) and Ugarit on the Syrian coast (Laroche 1968) to Nuzi in the east Tigris lands (Deller 1976). The cult of this local form was transferred to Ha^ttuša (see above p. 22), probably as early as Old Hittite times. The north Syrian goddess Hepa(t) was venerated as the consort of Teššup of Halab (see below p. 56); her name has been linked, speculatively of course, with Old Testament Eve (Hawwa)(Speiser 1941:41 n. 91). In a relatively late concept, the south Anatolian mountain god Šarrumma was considered the son of Teššup and

Hepat of Aleppo and thus acquired the cognomen "bull-calf of Teššup" (Laroche 1963).

The most important Hurrian goddess is Šawuška (Wegner 1981), first attested in the Ur III period (Whiting 1976, Wilcke 1988), who became amalgamated with Ištar, above all in Assyria and the northern east Tigris lands, where she had already been venerated of old. Her specialities are war and sex, and her most famous local form was in the north Assyrian town of Nineveh (Vieyra 1957), where she was still known by her Hurrian name at the end of the 8th century. The statue of the Ninevite goddess was thought to be therapeutic, which is why it was twice sent to Egypt to bring the pharaoh good health (see above p. 31f.).

In many towns of Assyria and Arrapha Ištar-Šawuška was the supreme goddess. Often she was flanked by the local theos eponymos, but only rarely – as in the case of the city god of Assur – was he more important than the great goddess herself. In the same countries other goddesses were worshipped who only had descriptive titles like "mistress of the land" and who were at least in part off-shoots of the Ištar-Šawuška deity.

Šawuška was also worshipped as supreme goddess in the Mittani kingdom: Tušratta describes her as "mistress of my land" and also as "mistress of the heavens". According to Sumerian, Akkadian, and Syrian-Anatolian tradition, she is the sister of the weather-god, but it is open to question whether this was her original position in the Hurrian pantheon. On the eastern fringes of Hurrian religious influence, she is often accorded a place in worship beside Teššup, as for example in the east Tigris towns of Tilla and Hilmani and probably also Nuzi; the double temple that has been excavated there was certainly dedicated to Teššup and Šawuška (see above p. 14). Only in the traditions of the towns of Kizzuwatna, which go back to the cult of Halab, is Šawuška ousted from her supreme position beside Teššup at the head of the pantheon by the autochthonous goddess Hepat (see above p. 50). She regains it in Alalakh (Na'aman 1980) and in the Hurrian cult of Ugarit (Laroche 1968). As a result of an artificial fusion of local and Aleppo tradition, the triad of Teššup-Hepat-Šawuška dominates the other gods in the Kizzuwatna town of Lawazantija (Lebrun 1979).

In Akkadian texts from Ugarit, reference is made to the "Ištar of Hurri", who also appears in the 8th century, in a Phoenician inscription found in Marseilles, under the name of "Astarte of Hurri" (*ʿltri hr*) (Herrmann 1973-4, differently Dietrich/Loretz 1975).

In northern Syria, Šawuška is to some extent amalgamated with the goddess Išhara, for they shared many attributes (see below p. 55), and in Ugarit she was identified with Astarte (Laroche 1968). In Kizzuwatna they worshipped a "black goddess", who had the features of Šawuška (Kronasser

1963, Lebrun 1976:16), and whose statue was transferred to Šamuha after Kizzuwatna had been incorporated into the kingdom of Hatti. In Asia Minor, the goddess was also given male characteristics and attributes. In the Hurrian-Hittite rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya near Hattuša (second half of the 13th century), Šawuška is ranked not only with the goddesses but also with the gods (Güterbock 1976), and in a Hurrian ritual, sacrifice is made to Šawuška's "male attributes" as well as to her "female attributes" (Lebrun 1976:78 line 15). As mistress of sexuality, she is able to punish enemies and oath-breakers by instilling in them behaviour characteristic of the opposite sex, a power that was also credited to the Mesopotamian Inanna-Ištar (Archi 1977).

Only in the west are the two goddesses Ninatta and Kulitta assigned to her as servants and musicians; they may go back to Anatolian traditions and were also known in first-millennium Assur along with the bull-acolytes of Teššup (Weidner 1945-51). In texts from Hattuša, Šawuška is allotted various supporting deities, with Hurrian names like Šintal-wuri ("seven-eyed"), Šintal-irti ("seven-breasted"), and Šinan-tatukarni ("twofold at (?) love") (Wegner 1981:81 f.).

Among the truly Hurrian gods recognised throughout the Hurrian-speaking world was Kumarbi, the central figure of many myths that tell of the god's attempt to regain his lost power from the weather-god (see below p. 59). His name describes his origins (a place-name with the genitive suffix, as it is at times attested with other god-names). Myth identifies the ancient royal Hurrian town of Urkeš (see above p. 9ff.) as his home, and yet in the late 3rd millennium, the ruling god there appears to have been Nerigal (see below p. 54f.).

The oldest evidence is to be found in a Hurrian tablet from Mari (around 1700 B.C.) (Thureau-Dangin 1939 no.5). The god known here by the variant name Kumurwe, was being worshipped in the eastern Tigris town of Azuhinnu (Deller 1976). But otherwise, as far as we can make out, he played a minor part in the cult and in the onomasticon; yet he was still recognised in the Late Assyrian period as sharing power over the town of Taide/Tedi (see above p. 39ff.) with his Hurrian co-deities Nabarbi and Samanuha. Within Syrian theological tradition, he was equated with the middle Euphrates god of grain, Dagan, with the Sumero-akkadian Enlil, and with the Ugaritic El, partly because they belonged to the same generation and partly because they shared the same attributes. The identification with Dagan was so close that the goddess Šala (Šaluš) was wife to them both (Laroche 1968). And since the name of Kumarbi is sometimes replaced by the Hittite word for "grain" in Hittite-Hurrian lists of gods, he and Dagan may both be seen as god of grain. In Hittite-Hurrian myths and rituals,

Kumarbi, like all great Hurrian gods, is also assigned a vizer, whose name Mukišanu is derived from a designation of the kingdom of Alalakh.

The god Nupatik, who is well-attested in Ugarit and Hattuša but whose nature and genealogy are still unclear, may also have been a member of the most ancient Hurrian pantheon, for he is invoked under the name of Lubadaga in Tiš-atal's foundation tablet (see above p. 11). In the festival of Hišuwā (see p. 64 below), sacrifice is made to two embodiments of Nupatik in separate temples: *bibita* or *bibithi* (see Dietrich/Loretz/Sanmartin 1975) and *zalmāna*.

Wherever Hurrian was spoken, the sun-god and the moon-god were recognised under the names of Šimike (Šimika in the east) and Kušuh (Kušah in Alalakh and occasionally in Hattuša). The name of the Hurrian sun-god is not unlike that of his Urartian counterpart (Šiwini), and the name Kušuh has been associated with the (proto-)Hattian moon-god Kasku; this would point to very old Hattian-Hurrian linguistic contacts. However, it is also possible that Kušuh is the adjective derived from the place-name Kuzina.

Nowhere do Šimike and Kušuh seem to have rated special honours; their personal characteristics and their role in myth remain opaque. When Tušratta, king of Mittani, speaks of "Šimike" in his letter to the pharaoh quoted above (p. 32ff.), he means the Egyptian sun-god Rē, or else just the sun itself (Friedrich 1942). The sun-god is linked with omens, because on his daily course across the sky he sees everything on earth (see p. 69 below). The moon-god, by contrast, is the protector of oaths, unlike the Akkadian Šin (Laroche 1955a, 1955b); this attribute distinguishes him from the heavenly gods and brings him nearer to the underworld "gods of cursing and of dying" (Otten 1957; see p. 56 below), who are responsible for eradicating magical and religious impurities, including perjury. The same is true of the sun-god in his capacity as sun of the underworld; here, however, Anatolian concepts are masquerading in Hurrian garb. Elsewhere in myth and cult Šimike appears as one of the great heavenly gods, standing on Teššup's side in the battle for kingship of the gods. A very old moon-god figure, famous throughout the history of the ancient Near East and even beyond, is the moon-god of the Turkish town of Harrān. On the list of the oath-protecting gods of Šattiwaza of Mittani (see p. 52 above), the moon-god of Harrān is separately invoked alongside the sun-god and the moon-god.

In the Hurrian cult at Ugarit, one high-ranking goddess is Nikkal, the wife of Kušuh, who derives from the Sumerian moon-goddess Ningal ("great mistress" in Sumerian). Whereas as late as the 14th century B.C., Hittite queens still have names embodying Nikkal's (Nikkal-mati, Ašmu-nikkal), her importance in Hittite-Hurrian territory (Laroche 1955 b) later waned. Aya, the Babylonian wife of the sun-god was later incorporated into Hurrian

worship, probably - unlike Nikkal - for reasons of theological consistency.

The incorporation of Sumero-Akkadian gods into the Hurrian pantheon should not be seen as a single event, but rather as a combination of direct and indirect borrowings (mostly via Syria); they include theological-speculative borrowings that occur intermittently in the multi-lingual lists of deities from Ugarit (Laroche 1968) and Emar (Laroche 1977 *passim*).

Among the most ancient of these borrowings is Nerigal; he first emerged from unknown origins to figure in royal inscriptions of the Akkad period, and subsequently enjoyed special veneration in the Hurrian states that superseded the kingdom of Akkad in the North. The foundation tablets of kings Atal-šen and Tiš-atal of Urkeš (see above p. 12, 15) both come from a temple of Nerigal. Atal-šen describes the god as "king of Hawalum" (or Hawilum, Hawlum); at the time of the Old Assyrian trading colonies and in the Mari period, and also in a later Assyrian sacrificial ritual, reference is made to a Nerigal of Hubšal(um) (around Diyarbakır?), who may possibly be the same god (Güterbock 1965, von Weiher 1971:37 n.6).

In the wealth of source-material from Hattuša, Nerigal hardly appears at all, at least not in his traditional spelling of ġer-ri_x(UNUG)-gal, ġeri-gal, ġer_x (İR.GİR)-ri_x-gal, nor was he of any significance elsewhere in the west. However, more work still needs to be done before it is clear whether, as is generally assumed, the logogram U.GUR in Hattuša means Nerigal on the Middle Babylonian pattern or whether it refers to the god Ugur, well-attested in Arrapha.

Nerigal was actively worshipped in the east Tigris lands of the 14th and 15th centuries B.C.: in Azuhinnu he ranks with Ištar-Šawuška *humella* at the head of the pantheon, and in several other towns the couple stand immediately below Teššup and Ištar-Šawuška of Nineveh. In the Arrapha calendar, two homonymous months were distinguished by adding the names of Teššup and Nerigal; in the town of Arrapha itself a town gate was called after him, and in Kurruhanni he was served by a high priestess (*entu*) (Brinkman/Donbaz 1977).

It was probably also in the Akkad period that the god Ea found his way into the Hurrian pantheon. It is true that evidence is hard to come by in the oldest Hurrian sources, sparse as they are, but the archaic name A'a, frequent in Asia Minor, suggests an early date for his acceptance. In Babylonia, Ea was identified with the Sumerian god of the subterranean fresh-water ocean (abzu) and of the magic arts, Enki, and his omniscient nature is also associated with the Hurrian Ea/A'a, especially as he is portrayed to us in the Ullikummi song (see below p. 61ff.). Consequently, the epithet *hassissi* (Akkadian *hastu* "wisdom") is often applied to him. There is, however, also a special form of Ea with the by-name of *šarri*

(<Akkadian *šarru* "king"), who rated special honours in the kingdom of Mittani and who also had a temple in Assur. Unfortunately we do not yet know what concepts belong with Ea's royal aspect (perhaps they are no more than the Sumerian notion "king of Abzu"). The list of gods by whom oaths are sworn in Šattiwaza's treaty (see above p. 52) gives Ea-sarri the cognomen *bēl hašši* ("lord of wisdom"), and so does not distinguish between different forms of Ea.

Recent excavations have revealed that from the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. there were close cultural links between Southern Mesopotamia and the peoples who inhabited the middle Euphrates and northern Syria. This also led to an intermingling of religious observances: it was probably in the Ur III period that the Sumerian moon-goddess Ningal referred to above began to be worshipped in Syria. Then the Hurrians came across her there and absorbed her into their own pantheon. Information about the west Hurrian gods has come down to us in the Hittite-Hurrian sacrificial lists from Kizzuwatna (Laroche 1948) and also in the Hittite rock sanctuary Yazılıkaya (Güterbock 1976): they were a synthesis of authentic Hurrian tradition and of cults that the Hurrians encountered in northern Syria. The texts found at Ebla, which portray a north Syrian pantheon from the pre-Sargonic period (Pettinato 1979), confirm the hypothesis that it is precisely those west Hurrian gods, who were at that time unknown in the east, that have their roots in a pre-Hurrian substratum (Laroche 1976, Haas 1978).

Prime among these is Aštabi, the god of war, although his name has mostly been seen as Hurrian because of the final *-bi* (see also Kumarbi, Nabarbi). The pre-Hurrian north-Syrian group certainly included Adamma and the goddess Išhara (see above p. 51-2), later to become a goddess of oaths and illness in Asia Minor. The underworld goddess Allani was only recognised in the west; she must have had connections with the goddess Allatum, already known in the Ur III period. The name Allani may conceivably be connected with the Hurrian word *allai* ("mistress"), whereas no convincing Akkadian etymology has yet been put forward for Allatum. So Allatum-Allani would be the first and, so far, the only evidence that Hurrians were already in northern Syria around 2000 B.C. She was a member of the pantheon in the town of Haššu, and it was from there that Hattušili I took her statue to Hattuša (see above p. 22). She was thought to be the mother of Hepat, a goddess native to northern Syria who became Teššup's consort in the west Hurrian pantheon. In the Kizzuwatnean tradition, Hepat was subdivided into several local variant forms, and after the Hittites adopted it, she became identified with the supreme deity of Hittite state cult, the sun-goddess of Arinna. Although she was never

accepted in either the kingdom of Mittani or in the more easterly Hurrian territory as one of the great gods, and may even not have been worshipped at all, female proper names formed from *-hepa* proliferated there in the 14th century B.C.: the two Mittani princesses known to us by name and sent off as wives to Egypt (see above pp. 30, 32) were called Kelu-hepa and Tatu-hepa, and are roughly contemporaneous with two *hepa* names from Nuzi (Suwar-hepa, Šatu-hepa), both relatives of a prince. The same predilection for *hepa* names is also apparent in the ensuing years in the Hittite dynasty.

Hittite myths, rituals, and state treaties often refer to a group of underworld gods; its membership is variable and there is no textual evidence of it outside Hattuša, but there is no question that it forms part of Hurrian theology. These are the so-called "ancient gods", originating in earlier generations of gods, who were ousted by the weather-god and driven into the underworld (Otten 1961, Laroche 1974). In the magical opposition of "purity" and "impurity", a concept by no means uniquely Hurrian, which can be studied in unusual depth in the case of the ancient Anatolian material, the "ancient" gods of the underworld are the negation of the ruling heavenly gods. Since they no longer play any part in the divine supremacy, they lack the essential quality of the "upper" gods: they are not "pure" in the magical sense. This purity is a prerequisite for divine power, and any deviation from it - perhaps the result of cultic imperfections - limits the gods' potency and endangers men's well-being. In this respect, the lower gods are the exact opposite of the upper gods: impurity does not harm them, on the contrary, it is their true province. They are appealed to, therefore, when it is hoped to purge actual "impurities", like a failed harvest, a murder, sickness or perjury from the upper world and relegate them to the safety of the underworld.

The names of the "ancient gods" cannot be attributed with certainty to any known language, although there are clear echoes of Sumerian and West Semitic names (Gurney 1977:15). The view has also been expressed that they may go right back to a pre-Hurrian and pre-Semitic substratum in Upper Mesopotamia (Goetze 1957:134). Most of the names come in rhyming pairs (Nara - Napšara, Minki - Amunki, Muntara - Mutmuntara). Some of the gods in this group have descriptive titles: Atuntarri "the priest of the oracle", Zulki "interpreter of dreams", Irpitika "lord of judgement". The "pit" (*api*) as the opening to the underworld in the magical sense, which plays an important part in Hurrian cathartic rituals (compare also the east Tigris town-name Ape=na=aš(=we) ("place of the pits") was deified and joined on to the underworld. The underworld is the last home of the dethroned kings of the gods from past ages (see below p. 59), and since they

include great Babylonian gods like Anu and Enlil, the "ancient gods" are sometimes characterised by a word of Sumerian origin, (Anunna(k), Akkadian Anunnakku) which really refers to the great heavenly gods.

It is, however, open to doubt whether the "gods of the underworld", as they figure in the texts from Hattuša, were recognised wherever Hurrian was spoken. This idea is contradicted by the state treaty signed between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza of Mittani (see p. 38 above): here they are oath-protectors only to the former and are not among the Mittani deities. Only in this same treaty is appeal made to gods of Indo-Aryan origin: Mitrá-, Váruna-, Índra-, and the goddess Nāsatya. They should probably be seen as providing personal protection for the kings of Mittani (see also above, p. 18).

Apart from gods with names, thought of as personalities, Hurrian religion also recognised impersonal divinities whom they tended to group together in pairs: earth and heaven (*eše hawurni*), mountains and rivers (*papanna šijena*). West Hurrian religious practice deified and made sacrifice to divine attributes, divine weapons and insignia as well as to cult utensils. Thus, in a long ritual, sacrifice was made to Hepat's throne and its constituent parts (Laroche 1960, Salvini/Wegner 1986). In the east, the bed (*nathi*) of Šawuška of Nineveh may similarly have been a cult object (Vieyra 1975).

Groups of seven demons are common in Hittite-Hurrian religious texts. They are probably based on Mesopotamian prototypes and have astral overtones (the Pleiades). Such "seven deities" are assigned to various great gods like Šimike and Teššup. A reference to the "seven-daughtership of Šimike" in an incantation from Mari, written in Hurrian around 1700 B/C. (Thureau-Dangin 1936 No. 5, lines 10f.), indicates that this is more than mere speculation by later Hittite scribes (Kammenhuber 1976:50, contra Haas 1977:144f.).

In the west, we hear much of the "gods of the father" (*enna attannewena*), which might suggest ancestor-worship, but might rather derive from a Hittite or Syrian concept (compare Dietrich/Loretz/Sanmartin 1974, Xella 1981). More reliable indications are the name of the month *attanaswe* ("month of the fathers") in the Nuzi calendar and the existence, borne out in texts from Nuzi, of "spirits of the dead" as cult figures owned by a family (Deller 1981).

Our only source for the reconstruction of Hurrian mythology has so far been texts found in Hattuša. The myths they contain have a complex tradition, but due to a lack of comparable material we cannot make an accurate reconstruction of the stages of their individual development. As in the pantheon, we are dealing with an authentically Hurrian substratum which

included Sumero-Akkadian and West Semitic/North Syrian elements, with the possible addition of Hittite-Anatolian influences.

The greater part of the Hurrian myths have come down to us in Hittite, but there are traces of Hurrian versions, although they mostly remain unintelligible (Salvini 1977b). It is generally assumed that the Hittite versions are translations of Hurrian originals, but of course this cannot be certain, and there are indications that they are Akkadian in origin. A few literary tablets have been found in Amarna in Middle Egypt, which come partly from northern Syria (the *šar tamḥarim* epic) and partly from Mittani (Nerigal and Ereškigal, Adapa); these show that there was a flourishing Akkadian literature of mythology and historical epics in both these areas. In Amarna a small fragment of the Song of Kešši (see below p. 62), written in Akkadian, was discovered, otherwise only known in Hittite and Hurrian versions from Hattuša. This makes it possible that Hurrian myths were first written down in Akkadian in the kingdom of Mittani and in northern Syria, under the influence of the cultural predominance of the Akkadian script, and only transcribed into Hurrian in Asia Minor, where this language enjoyed high cultural prestige. In view of the current bias of finds, this suggestion must remain speculative, but it will nonetheless serve to stifle unreasonable hopes that literary works in Hurrian may one day be discovered in the cities of the kingdom of Mittani, where excavations are still only just beginning. However, the most recent finds from the Hittite capital do show that Hurrian narrative texts were already being copied and translated into Hittite there as early as 1400 B.C., texts which may originate at least to some extent in Middle Bronze Age Syria - to be precise, in Ebla. They include a collection of allegories of an instructive or improving nature (Ottén 1984).

In its primitive form, myth illuminates the origins of a particular cult or magical custom and offers a key to its interpretation. If it is recited as part of a ritual, the present is linked with these origins and thus invokes the return of the healing mythical incident, bringing with it a magical impulsion through which the events "in illo tempore" affect the here and now.

In contrast to various myths of Anatolian origin, the Hurrian myths in Hattuša were, as far as we can tell, no longer part of a ritual, although we are not sure to what extent they achieved "literary" status - clues to the reception of religious texts (as everywhere in the Ancient East) are hard to come by and rest on internal evidence or other sources (e.g. letters).

At the heart of Hurrian mythology as we know it stands the notion of succeeding generations of different gods in mythical aeons, culminating in the not uncontested supremacy of the weather god. Theogonic considerations are overshadowed here by those of the legitimacy of power, just as the other Hurrian mythological texts contain no more than traces of a

cosmogonic approach (see below p. 62f.).

One myth, that has become known as the "Song of the kingship in heaven" (Güterbock 1946, Meriggi 1953, Vieyra 1970), portrays the succession of the three aeons before the supremacy of the weather god: "Previously in ancient times Alalu was king in heaven. Alalu sits on the throne. Anu the strong, first among the gods, stands before him. At his feet he bends low, he hands him the goblet to drink.

Nine years long Alalu was king in heaven. In the ninth year, Anu came out in battle against Alalu and overcame Alalu. And he fled from him and went down into the dark earth. Down he went into the dark earth, but Anu took his seat upon the throne.

Anu sits on the throne and Kumarbi the strong serves him. At his feet he bends low, he hands him the goblet to drink.

Nine years long Anu was king in heaven. In the ninth year Kumarbi came out in battle against Anu. Anu did not withstand the eyes of Kumarbi, he slipped from the hands of Kumarbi and he, Anu, fled. And he fled to heaven, behind him Kumarbi drew nearer, he caught Anu by the feet, and he pulled him down from heaven.

He bit off his genitals, his sperm was united like bronze with Kumarbi's innards. When Kumarbi had swallowed down Anu's sperm, he rejoiced and laughed. Anu turned back to him and began to speak to Kumarbi: "You rejoice at your innards, because you have swallowed my semen. Do not rejoice at your innards! I have set a burden in your innards. Firstly, I have made you pregnant with the heavy weather god, secondly I have made you pregnant with the river Tigris, which is not to be endured, thirdly I have made you pregnant with the heavy god Tašmišu, and I have set two (other) terrible gods in your innards as a burden. You finally will come to the point of beating your head against the rocks of the mountains!" ... The part of the tablet telling how the weather god finally gained supremacy has been destroyed, but we learn from a ritual (Otten 1961) that he "drove" the earlier gods "into the dark earth".

The names of the older kings of the gods and the mention of the Sumerian town of Nippur – seat of the god Enlil, with whom Kumarbi was identified – show that the myth is based on Babylonian traditions (Güterbock 1946:105ff.). The concept of a sequence of divine generations is known to have existed in Babylonia long before the Hurrian myth, even if its most famous expression, in the Babylonian Creation Epic "Enuma elis", is dated no earlier than towards the end of the second millennium B.C.

There is, however, no doubt about the parallels between the Hurrian myth of succession and the theogony of Hesiod, the Greek poet living in Boeotia in about 700 B.C.. Just as in the Hurrian myth Anu, the god of

heaven, is castrated by his son Kumarbi, to be deposed in his turn by the weather god Teššup, so Kronos becomes ruler of the gods after the castration of his father, Uranus, god of heaven, only to be usurped by Zeus, the thunder god.

The precise route of transmission of the legend is not clear; one could point to the origins of Hesiod's father in Asia Minor, but it is just as likely that Graeco-Phoenician cultural exchanges brought the myth from the Near East to Greece.

Two myths of very similar construction recount the attempt made by the dethroned god Kumarbi to regain his dominion. In the Hedammu myth, of which sadly only fragments remain (Siegelová 1971), Kumarbi, with the help of Šertapšuruhi, the gigantic daughter of the sea-god, creates the snake monster Hedammu, which is then reared in secret and develops a devastating appetite. Finally, the goddess Ištar discovers Hedammu and hastens, horrified, to her brother the weather god, who bursts into tears at this terrible news.

In a meeting of the gods, the wise god Ea accuses Kumarbi and reproaches him with having harmed the gods by annihilating mankind, since this would involve the loss of sacrifices. This part of the myth represents Kumarbi's real aim as the destruction of mankind rather than the recapture of the throne, and therefore betrays itself as foreign to the overall concept, easily identifiable as a reflection of the Babylonian myth of the destruction of mankind by the god Enlil ("the Flood Story": the epic of Gilgamesh Tablet XI, and Atram-hast's myth). In the end, the heavenly gods probably do succeed – the text has not survived here – in dominating Hedammu, after Ištar has dazzled him with the sight of her naked body, anointed and bejewelled, "followed by sexual attraction like little dogs", and has lured him from his element, the sea.

The "Song of Ullikummi" is about another attempt of Kumarbi's to overcome the weather god. With an enormous rock he procreates a rock-like monster which he calls Ullikummi ("Destroyer of Kummi(ya)", the town of the weather god [?]; Güterbock 1946:95, contra Goetze 1949:178, Hoffner 1968:202; better "Take Kummi(ya)!"). In this myth, too, Kumarbi conspires with the god of the sea, in whose protection the stony fiend grows ever larger. He stands on the god Upelluri, who – like the Greek Atlas – bears heaven and earth. After Ullikummi has grown so big that he has to leave the sea, the sun god sees him and at once – an evil omen! – changes his course and warns the weather god of the danger. Just as Ištar in the Hedammu myth is so frightened that she is unable to take her seat of welcome in the palace of the weather god, or to eat and drink, so the sun god now declines to seat himself, to taste the food offered to him and to

drink from the cup held out to him. In the song of Ullikummi, however, the motive is presented differently: the weather god insists on observing the ritual of hospitality, until the sun god leaves without telling him why he has come. Only then does the weather god, impelled by a dreadful suspicion, run to the mountain of Hazzi (see above p. 50), along with his brother Tašmišu, and see to his horror the stone monster in the sea. As in the Hedammu myth, he bursts into tears, and once again the goddess Ištar now tries to ensnare the awful creature with her feminine wiles. But it proves to be deaf and blind, and so all her efforts are in vain. In the end the weather god, helped by his companions, tries to conquer Ullikummi in open battle, but he suffers a defeat, and his brother prophesies gloomily: "Up there in heaven there will be no king!"

The situation is only saved by the intervention of Ea: after he has sought out Upelluri and found the monster growing out of his right shoulder, he asks the ancient gods (see above p. 56) to bring out the sickle (?) which was used at the beginning of time to separate heaven from earth. With it he cuts Ullikummi from his base, thus depriving him of the source of his strength, just as Hedammu becomes powerless once Ištar has managed to lure him from his element, the sea. In yet another battle, we assume, the gods of heaven succeed in destroying the monster, although the end of the text has not survived.

In the Ullikummi myth, as in the surviving fragments of an account of the pregnancy of the mountain goddess Wašitta (Friedrich 1952/53), the theme of birth from stone may have its roots in ancient traditions which the Hurrians brought with them from their previous settlements in the Kurdish mountains. The theme of the dethroned ruler of the gods seeking restoration is also genuinely Hurrian and indeed unparalleled in the Ancient East, but the scene of the action must have been in northern Syria, because of the reference to Mount Hazzi, and so we must imagine Ullikummi growing out of the Gulf of Iskenderun. Northern Syria is also the setting for the theme of the hostility between the god of the sea and the weather god: in Ugaritic mythology the sea-god Yam and El, the equivalent of Kumarbi, are united in their joint rivalry towards the weather god Ba^{al}. Even the inclusion of rivers in the sea-god's domain (he chooses a way through the rivers to reach meeting with Kumarbi in secret) has its parallel in Ugaritic mythology, whereas in Hurrian religion the sea has no part to play and the rivers are always mentioned in conjunction with the mountains. So it is hardly surprising that the story of the attempted enticement by the goddess of love, in her quarrel with the forces opposed to the weather god, is also recounted by the Canaanite Astarte (*ʿAštart*). The widespread popularity of the theme is supported by its re-appearance in Egypt, where it crops up in a

papyrus in Egyptian dating from the 18th or 19th dynasties (Gaster 1952, Helck 1983). Finally, the god Ea, eternally wise, (see p. 55 above), whose abode Apsu(wa) the Sumerians thought of as the subterranean fresh water ocean, is of Mesopotamian origin; in the song of Ullikummi, on the other hand, his seat is envisaged as a town without a chthonic connection, and this may be because the Sumerian concept conflicted with the north Syrian concepts of the god of the sea, the rivers, and the springs.

Via south-east Anatolia and northern Syria, the theme of a rebel created by the older gods to challenge the weather god made its way into Greek mythology, which contains various versions of the story of the monster Typhon, created by Ge and Tartaros (or, according to another legend, by Kronos); it threatens Zeus but is overcome by him in the end (Güterbock 1946:103ff., Schwabl 1960, 1962). Indeed, the old Hurrian mythological motif could have survived in Judaic legend in the story of Armilus, the Anti-Messiah, who was engendered by the devil with the marble statue of a beautiful girl (Astour 1968).

The story of the hero Kurparanzah goes right back to old Hurrian traditions, but no more than fragments survive, and it has proved impossible to reconstruct either its plot or its mythological significance. The story is set in the town of Akkad, which appears to have been seen by the oldest Hurrian states as the perfect model for a centre of power and civilisation (p. 8 above). The personification of the Tigris, unlike the Euphrates with a Hurrian name of its own (Aranzah), has an active role, apparently in support of Kurparanzah (von Schuler 1965:169f.).

In authentic Hurrian mythology, the character of the hunter obviously played an important part. Kurparanzah should be seen in this light; the myth tells us that the hero slays a wild animal and triumphs in an archery contest. Another account (Friedrich 1950) – the Hurrian version from Hattuša occupies more than 14 tablets – is about the hunter Kešši, who marries the beautiful Šinta(li)meni and is so obsessed by her that he no longer fulfills his duties to the gods. He forgets to sacrifice bread and wine to them and neglects to follow the hunt in the mountains. His mother's remonstrances at last impel him to sally forth in search of game, but as a result of divine anger he catches nothing, and is only rescued from starvation by the intervention of his "father-deity" (see above p. 57). A sequence of dreams which the hero's mother interprets for him are also in part to do with the hunt; all in all, there is no doubt that the story of Kešši should be taken as a hunting myth (Xella 1978). In one fragment of the Hurrian version, the gods Kumarbi and Ea(-šarri) are mentioned, although their role in the action is not clear.

One myth that has been preserved in Hurrian, with a Hittite

translation, tells of a visit Teššup pays to the ancient gods of the underworld, where he himself once evicted them (see below p. 75). Allani, queen of the underworld, lays on a huge banquet for her brother, the king of heaven, for which ten thousand cattle and thirty thousand sheep are slain. Unfortunately the end of the story has not survived (Otten 1984).

If man finds answers to his questions about the why and wherefore of the divine cosmos in myth, everyday relationship with the divine is expressed in the cult, which is centred round offerings.

The anthropomorphic view of the gods, dominant in Hurrian and indeed in all other Ancient Near Eastern religions, means that gods need nourishment just as men do. Since the gods do not provide their own food – a transcendental reflection of earthly rulers, this – they need men to do so for them. The Babylonian myth of Atram-hasTs, familiar also to the western Hurrians, depicts the creation of men as the direct result of the gods' wish to be relieved of the wearisome burden of agricultural labour. Man is subject to a god as a slave is to his master (a simile in a late Hittite text) and must do all in his power to ensure his well-being. But – and here the idea of the "quid pro quo" which underlies sacrifice can degenerate into an attempt to put pressure on the deity – without the religious attentions of men, the gods would have to find their own food and would thus jeopardise their superiority. So we read in a passage of the Hedammu myth (see above p. 60ff.) that is heavily influenced by Babylonian thought:

If you destroyed mankind, we would no longer feast the gods, and no-one would pay offerings of bread and drink to you. It will (also) come (to this), that the weather god, the mighty king of Kummiya, will grasp the plough himself, and it will (also) come (to this), that Ištar and Hapat will turn the mill themselves.

Thus, the relationship between men and gods is one of give-and-take, to avoid disruption ritualised and regulated down to the smallest detail of its performance. This need for discipline and routine is expressed in regular ceremonies, in the cyclical recurrence of identical rites, and in a fixed cultic calendar.

So far no evidence has been discovered that practices indulged in by Hurrian-speakers were any different from those elsewhere in the Ancient Near East. On the other hand, the unlimited opportunities for a wide range of pattern and order in worship resulted in different rituals and calendars that varied from place to place, and that can only be reconstructed thanks to an unusual wealth of documentation from the temple area. Such a wealth of sources is, however, confined to Hattuša (and even there, there are large

gaps) and so we must be content to deduce what we can from scanty information.

There is generally supposed to have been a daily sacrifice, and in Hattuša it is indeed well attested; it centred around an offering of bread. A delivery list from Nuzi mentions an allocation of flour for two days to the local form of Ištar, so we can assume that she too rated a daily sacrifice of cereals (Deller 1976:41). In Arrapha, there was probably a religious celebration on the first day of every month, which was called after the appropriate month ("Festival of the *kenunu*", "festival of the *mitirunni*", "festival of the *šehali*", etc.) (Mayer 1978:147). A contract with a "washerwoman of the temple forecourt" makes it clear that there was a special religious celebration on the 15th of the month: it prescribes the cleaning of the temple of Ištar of Nineveh in Arrapha on the 15th and also the "new" day of the month (Deller 1976:38). In Alalakh, too, monthly festivals took place, some with the same names as those in Arrapha (e.g. "(feast)-day of the (month) *hiari*"; Wiseman 1953, no. 346). Seasonal festivals based on an annual calendar were doubtless widespread throughout Hurrian territory, but rituals for them have so far only been found in Hattuša. There, partly written in Hurrian, was a record on two tablets of the liturgy for the four-day winter festival in honour of Ištar of Nineveh (Vieyra 1957).

On the instructions of the Hittite queen Pudu-hepa (around 1250 B.C.), the ritual practice of one great Hurrian festival – unfortunately we do not know what purpose it served – was set down in Hattuša in a new version modelled on religious observances from the queen's home town of Kizzuwatna. In its new form, it occupied more than twelve clay tablets, each of six columns. This festival, (*h*)*išuwa* by name (Dinçol 1969, Otten 1969), has sometimes been associated with the east Anatolian country of Išuwa, but more likely it was of Syrian origin and made its way to Kizzuwatna from there. The names mentioned in the ritual – the river Pura/una and the Adalur mountains, as well as the god Lilluri – all reappear in Hattušili's account of the conquest of the town of Haššu (see p. 22 above).

Apart from a few Hurrian invocations, the ritual is in Hittite, which make it difficult to tell whether the original from Kizzuwatna was also mostly Hittite, whether a translation was only provided when it reached Hattuša, or whether the ritual procedures were really only set down in writing in Hattuša and the earlier version contained no more than the Hurrian invocations. As an example I reproduce an excerpt from the fifth tablet:

Then the king comes forth from the temple of Išhara and goes into the temple of Allani. And as one has sacrificed a bird to Išhara as an *ambašši* sacrifice and a goat as a *keldi* sacrifice, just so one sacrifices a bird to Allani as an *ambašši* sacrifice and a sheep as a *keldi* sacrifice. Everything is arranged exactly the same way. And a *tabria* woman pours out water *with essence* of cedar before the deity. But if a *tabria* woman is not available, her priest pours out the water and the *essence* of cedar before the deity.

[Then] one sacrifices [just the same way] of the fresh blood of a he-goat, and [also the]re he (=the king) breaks also the [daily] *kakkari* bread of *groats* of half an *upni* measure. Further, one takes a bowl of wine and fills two silver cups for Allani, one silver cup for Zimazzalli, one [silver] cup for Kurri, one silver cup for Eš[ui], one silver cup for the deities Hutena and Hutel[lurra]. But then [their] priest pours a libation out of a silver flask, and the king pours a libation out of two gol[den] flasks.

Then the king comes out of the temple of Allani and goes into the temple of Nupatik bibi[*thi*]. And there too

This passage shows that in the temple of an important deity, a whole array of lesser gods, mostly linked either by genealogy or by function, were also honoured. In the cult of Teššup of Halab, as it was observed in central Kizzuwatna and thence transmitted to Hattuša, sacrifice was made to all the more important male gods of the Hurrian pantheon, including local forms, aspects and attributes of Teššup; it followed a definite sequence (*kaluti*) that varied in a few details but that was basically canonised. The female deities were grouped together in the *kaluti* of the goddess Hepat (Laroche 1948, Güterbock 1961, Gurney 1977:17f.). The *kaluti* lists were not confined to the worship of Teššup and Hepat in the narrow sense, but could be slotted into the offering ritual intended for other deities, like "Šawuška of the field" of Šamuha (Lebrun 1976). They represent a degree of standardisation in the religion of the Hittite empire under the influence of Hurrian theology.

The regular cult was not confined to the sacrifice of food and drink. Every so often, the god's statue was anointed, as we can tell from the lists of oil quotas for the temples of various towns throughout Arrapha, and the passage I have cited from the Hišuwā festival indicates that cathartic sacrifices (*ambašši*, *keldi*) were interwoven with religious celebrations in order to restore the sacred purity of the statue.

Quite commonly, the texts include instructions for instrumental or choral musical accompaniments, although we still do not fully understand their ritual significance. Some Hurrian religious songs from Ugarit come complete with directions for instrumental accompaniments which must surely rate as the oldest surviving examples of musical notation. Although

considerable progress has been made in the interpretation of words and music, much remains unclear (Laroche 1968, 1973, Dietrich/Loretz 1975, Güterbock 1970, Kümmel 1970, Wulstan 1971, 1974, Draffkorn/Kilmer 1974, 1976, Duchesne-Guillemin 1975, Thiel 1977, 1978).

The most important place of worship was the temple (in Hurrian: *purli*, with an article in the singular *purulle*); the statue of the deity stood in its cella. The few temples so far excavated in Hurrian-speaking areas display no particular features that could be attributed to a truly Hurrian style. Rather, local characteristics persisted throughout the region: in Nuzi the type known as "bent axis", already widespread in 3rd millennium Mesopotamia, in Alalakh IV the north Syrian type with axially arranged forecourt, ante-cella, cella and statuary niche on the end wall of the cella.

The worship of Teššup involved a place called a *hamri*, already attested at the time of the Old Assyrian trading colonies in Asia Minor and occurring later in the whole of Hurrian territory (Laroche 1953, Haas/Wilhelm 1974:116f.), and indeed in Babylonia. There are *hamru* models among the booty which Hattušili I brought to Hattuša after the conquest of Haššu (see p. 22 above).

A text from Nuzi refers to a sacred grove; for some unexplained reason the statues were carried to it, a custom that was to survive for a long time in Assyria (Menzel 1981:265 with note 3539). There is also good evidence for sacred groves in Hittite sources.

A special type of shrine is found in the rocky cliffs now known as Yazılıkaya (Turkish: "inscribed rock") near the Hittite capital of Hattuša (Bittel et al. 1975), which was given its final form in the late 13th century B.C. under king Tuthaliya IV. The largest of the three chambers, formed of natural blocks of rock some of which are hewn to a vertical face on the inner side, contains two long wall-reliefs depicting male deities on the left and female deities on the right; their gaze is fixed on the central couple of the weather god and his spouse. The inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs makes it clear that this is the Hurrian pantheon as it was established during the Hittite empire on Kizzuwatnean lines (Laroche 1952, 1969, Güterbock in: Bittel et al. 1975, Gurney 1977). On the walls of one of the two side-chambers, there are other reliefs that clearly have something to do with the powers of the underworld: one deity has the form of a sword, and the hilt is composed of a human head wearing the pointed cap typical of the gods, and of four lion figures. This relief has been explained as a representation of the Babylonian god Nerigal, whose name can be written using the sign for "sword" (Güterbock in: Bittel et al., 1975). Another relief shows twelve deities, who also appear at the end of the procession of male deities in the main chamber and who may be seen as gods of the

underworld. It is to them that appeal is made during attempts to eradicate magical impurities (see p. 56 above), and archaeologists have indeed discovered remains of magical purification rites in a cranny in the rock near the entrance to the main chamber at Yazılıkaya (Hauptmann in: Bittel et al., 1975 62ff.). This is why the view has been expressed that Yazılıkaya is not a shrine in the sense of an ordinary temple dedicated to regular worship but a setting for cathartic rites as they are described in the Hurrian compendium *itkalzi* (see below p. 74f.) (Haas/Wäfler 1974). This interpretation has not gone uncontested, however (Güterbock 1975, in reply Haas/Wäfler 1977).

For preference, the statue of the god was made of gold. The norm appears to have been a statue in the round, clothed, decked with all kinds of precious stones (Kronasser 1963), and furnished with characteristic symbols such as weapons of war or a distaff (Popko 1978:98ff.), which could themselves be the object of religious worship.

We have a wealth of information from written and archaeological sources about the cult vessels used in the temple. In the temple in Wassukanni known as *bu narmakti* ("house of purification"), silver jugs were used, because of the belief, by no means confined to the Hurrians, that silver possessed special powers of purification (Haas/Wilhelm 1974 38ff.). In the temple of Ištar-Šawuška at Nuzi there stood lion figures, and lion-shaped vessels were used for libations. But there were also countless figurines of naked female forms with exaggerated sexual characteristics. The two sides of the goddess – the belligerent and the sexual – which emerge from the texts are thus reflected in the cult vessels. In the temple of the Ninevite Ištar in Hattuša there were also lion-shaped rhyta (Vieyra 1957:136).

A common cult object in Hurrian worship is a kind of stand or trivet known as a *hubrušhi*, which is sometimes also treated as a numen and sacrificed to (Wilhelm 1975). It is frequently associated with a bowl called an *ahrušhi* – the first reference is in Alalakh, level VII (first half of the 16th century) – in which incense (*ahri*, with an article in the singular *aharre*) was burnt. Among the temple furniture, I should single out the throne (*kišhi*), the bed (*nathi*, see above p. 57), and the pair of objects called *tuni* and *tapri*, thought to be a "footstool" and a "chair"; all these ensured the comfort of the deity. From the central Syrian town of Qatna, long lists have survived of the temple inventory; although they are written in Akkadian, they contain large numbers of Hurrian appellatives which make it clear that the town was part of Hurrian civilisation (Bottéro 1949).

If a god is not treated in the proper way, if the regularly repeated ritual delineation of his sacred sphere from the world of the profane is broken down, and his numinous power exposed to contamination by the

impure, then he is no longer in a position to guarantee the prosperous condition of the world. The god's worshippers explained this psychologically as "anger", for then he is liable to punish mankind. What this approach sees as an independent act of will on the god's part reappears in another older version, common in Anatolian sources, as an infringement of the divine power to grant prosperity and growth.. The "anger" of the god is here seen to be itself corruption that must be opposed by magical rites. In this approach, it is hard to disentangle the cause and effect of disrupting divine will, and so only divine intimations can steer man towards the sacrilege that caused the god's anger.

These intimations may come from the god himself: sun and moon gods may go into eclipse, the weather god may make it clear that atonement is in order by means of a storm. Such phenomena are treated as omens, and as well as these naturally occurring signs, omens can be artificially induced. An example would be when a bird is released and its flight interpreted (*auspiciu*), or when a sheep is sacrificed and conclusions are drawn from the state of its entrails (*haruspiciu*). The terminological distinction between natural and induced omens is sometimes purely artificial, like the line drawn between a dream that occurs unexpectedly and one that is the result of a deliberate attempt to summon up an oracular dream by spending a night in the temple (incubation).

The Hurrians seem mostly to have acted as intermediaries in the ancient Near Eastern theory and practice of omens (Kammenhuber 1976). They translated Babylonian collections of omens into their own language, and they adopted the Mesopotamian custom of the examination of entrails or extispicy; it was directly from the Hurrians that the Hittites learnt such arts. Even the earliest Hurrian texts, composed in Hattuša, included collections of omens (Wilhelm 1987a).

The Babylonian compendia of omens relating to extispicy (the "*barûtu*" series), to the interpretation of the deformities of a misshapen baby (the "*šumma izbu*" series), and of astrology (the "*enûma Anu Enlil*" series, or, to be more accurate, their precanonical precursors) were certainly compiled out of scholarly interest rather than for any practical purpose.

To take an omen, the Hurrians usually seem to have favoured a combination of extispicy and an enquiry relating to a particular circumstance. This combination – probably representing the earliest form of hepatoscopy in the Ancient Near East – appears in Mesopotamian lands in the Akkadian texts of the *tamitu* type, oracular enquiries from Šamaš and Adad which are answered by diagnosing the state of the sheep's liver (Lambert 1966, Kammenhuber 1976:114, Oppenheim 1977:213ff., 372 f.). A similar text also emerged recently from the Arraphean town of

Kurruhanni (beginning of the 14th century) (unpublished; identified by K. Deller). The combination of hepatoscopy (examining the liver) and omen inquiries is also characteristic of the large group of Hittite SU oracles; their terminology betrays the Babylonian origin of hepatoscopy as clearly as it does its Hurrian intermediary (Laroche 1952). Texts found recently from the Middle Euphrates trading city of Emar show that it lay at the heart of the area where just such Hurrian extispicy flourished (Laroche 1977). In Syria and Palestine as well as in Hattuša, clay models of sheep's livers were often produced which depicted significant symptoms or, occasionally, on which the omens themselves were set down in writing. The Romano-Etruscan cult of the haruspex, and the model livers found in Italy are undoubtedly linked with the older Near Eastern practices of extispicy, but it has not yet proved possible to trace the route these customs took (Kammenhuber 1976:114f., Haas 1977, Meyer 1987).

There is a form of bird omen, well attested in Hattuša although its procedure remains obscure, in which a bird called a MUŠEN HURRI (in Akkadian literally "cave-bird" = Shelduck or rock partridge?) was used. The Akkadian name is obviously reminiscent of the name "Hurrian" and was understood (?sporadically) in Asia Minor in this sense ("Hurrian bird") (Kammenhuber 1976:11). As an illustration of ominous practice in general I have translated some excerpts from a text of this type:

Because the mighty weather god inside the temple was found to be in a state of anger, we asked those in the service of the temple, and they said: For the deity, the p.-offering of the seventh year has been missed.

The a.-utensils (and) the i.-utensils were covered with metal, but now they are covered no longer. The front of the chair was covered with silver, but now it is covered no longer.

The people of the village Kuwarpišaya of the land of Išuwa were given to the deity. But now the king of Išuwa has taken them to himself.

And they offered up wine to the deity from the villages of Nahita and Hilikka. But now they were neglecting to do so. And from the village of Tuhtušna they offered up salt to the deity. But now people were going over to the "gold attendants", but they were neglecting the salt. A certain merchant gave the deity an a.-garment, a golden ... of one shekel (in weight and) a silver ... of three shekels (in weight). But now they have taken it away for the ancestors of the palace officials. They have neglected it. And the temple servants used regularly to requisition a daughter from the area. But now they do not requisition

If the deity is angry because of these omissions, the oracle bird shall be unfavourable. (Result:) Favourable.

If the deity is angry because of some other omissions, the oracle bird shall be unfavourable. (Result:) Unfavourable.

...

If the reason for the divine anger is known, magical means can be used to cleanse the corruption and alleviate the infringement to religious order. The difference between purity and impurity does not consist in the contrast between pure and impure matter but in the presence or absence of impurity as a concrete concept. Contrary to appearances, magical thought in this context, as reconstructed from the archives of ancient Anatolia, is therefore monistic. Purity is defined in a negative way, as delimitation, and the magical rites that produce it are intended to remove impurity: i.e. catharsis. Under these circumstances, the contrast between the magic of curses and the magic of blessing ("black" and "white" magic) is determined only by the intentions of the magician, whereas the rites themselves are fundamentally the same and are aimed at eliminating impurity.

They consist of two distinct forms, homeopathic magic and contagious magic. In the former, an action is undertaken or a procedure named which will simultaneously take effect on the actual object of the spell. In the contagious magic, on the other hand, the impurity is removed by touching the affected being or object, which can then be rendered harmless along with the *materia magica* that absorbed the impurity. To do this, pure substances like certain plants and metals are used as well as living or inanimate agents or substitutes. The spoken phrases that accompany magical practices ("incantations") can take the form of prayers, when for example their purpose is to hand over contaminated substances to the gods of the underworld for safe keeping (see p. 56 above).

Hurrian incantatory arts were obviously popular in southern Mesopotamia as early as the Old Babylonian period; tablets from this time, unfortunately mostly of uncertain provenance, contain Hurrian texts with Sumerian glosses that show them to be incantations for various purposes, including snake-bite (Edzard/Kammenhuber 1972-75, Hačikjan 1976, Haas/Thiel 1978:10ff.). Even if the text is largely incomprehensible, the basic concept, for example, of "mountain-river, heaven-earth" (van Dijk 1971 no. 5 lines 8-11) does suggest parallels with Hurrian religious texts from Hattuša and Ugarit several centuries later. Most likely these incantations were borrowed from the Hurrian regions in northern Mesopotamia and the east Tigris lands at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, but any wide-ranging speculation about possible Hurrian elements within Sumerian culture should be treated with suspicion (van Dijk 1971:9, 1985). Hurrian incantations dating from around 1700 B.C. were also found at Mari

(Thureau-Dangin 1939). Some of them were inscribed together with Akkadian incantations, but sadly they are not translations.

The libraries in Hattuša have yielded countless magic rituals from the Hurrian cultural sphere. Some are described in Hittite, but have the text of the incantations in Hurrian, while others only betray their Hurrian ancestry in characteristic practices, incantatory formulae and isolated Hurrian technical terms, and are otherwise entirely in Hittite.

The content and indeed the wording of the the incantations show that much of Hurrian magical literature had its origins in the southeast Anatolian land of Kizzuwatna; since the 16th century B.C. at least, this had itself been exposed to the cultural predominance of northern Syria, already noticeably Hurrian, and was very likely particularly receptive to Hurrian influences in the late 15th century B.C. during its dependence on Mittani (see above pp. 22f., 30f.). The first great influx of Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean cults and magic took place in the reign of Arnuwanda I (around 1370 B.C.), immediately after the land had become part of the kingdom of Hatti (assuming that we accept the dating suggested above (p. 30) which sets this event in the reign of Tuthaliya "II").

Kizzuwatna was in any case already a meeting-point for traditions of all kinds, primarily of north Syrian origin: I have mentioned the town of Haššu in this connection (pp. 22 and 55 above), but we must not overlook Alalakh, the home of the incantatory priestess Allaiturahhe (see below p. 73) and of Kezziya, the composer of a ritual (Salvini 1975 no.3), nor Halab (=Aleppo), the home town of Ehel-teššup, also named as the composer of a compendium of ritual. It is hard to be precise about the non-Hurrian local traditions of Kizzuwatna, but there may have been many contacts between them and the Luwian language and civilisation further west. The intertwining of Luwian and Hurrian magic in Hittite incantatory ritual should, however, be seen primarily in the light of the situation in the Hittite capital at the time of the empire, susceptible as it was to every variety and combination of cultures. It is also open to question how far Hurrian influences were absorbed directly - that is to say, avoiding northern Syria - from Hurrian-speaking areas to the east of the Euphrates, Išūwa and Alše, and Mittani too.

The two most important series of Hurrian purification rituals from Hattuša have the names *itkalzi* and *itkah(h)i*, both derived from the Hurrian word *itki* "pure". Both series (texts: Haas 1984) exist in various versions which revolve around historically accurate figures like Ašmu-nikkal, the Tawananna (ruling queen) and sister to Arnuwanda I, or like Tatu-hepa, his wife, who was still acting queen in the time of Šuppiluliuma I (Bin-Nun 1975:261ff.), or Tašmi-šarri, who may be the same as Tuthaliya III (Gurney 1979). This would imply that the rituals date back to the early stages of the

Hittite assimilation of Hurrian texts. At any rate, they then had a long tradition within the corpus of the Hattuša texts, as we can tell from the scribal subscriptions (colophons) to the tablets.

The *itkalzi* series survives in various copies; one of them runs to ten tablets but mentions an older version from Šapinuwa of more than 22 tablets. Independently of the divisions that occur naturally at the end of each tablet, the series shows signs of being arranged according to cathartic substances: on the tenth tablet of one particular version the "words of silver" follow the "words of oil", and other tablets contain the "words of water", of lapis lazuli, of cedar, and of tamarisk (Haas 1978, 1984).

In the colophon, the Hittite scribe refers to the rite as "of mouth-washing", which recalls Assyrian and Egyptian rituals of the same name, although no similarities have been found so far. The incantations mostly employ homeopathic magic, like for example the oft-quoted "silver formula" (Goetze 1939) or this "water formula":

As water is pure ..., so [may the sacrificer] Tatu-hepa [be pure] before gods [and men].

The accompanying rites, on the other hand, are predominantly those of contagious magic. The following excerpt describes cathartic washing with "pure water"; it is clear that the priest who guards the "pure water" must take care to preserve his own purity.

And he (=the sacrificer) washes himself. But as soon as they prepare to wash, the incantatory priest, who keeps the pure waters aside, brings (them) to the washing tents. And as soon as the sacrificer finishes washing, they tip that w[ater] into an empty washing bowl of copper or bronze. The (incantatory priest), who holds no (pure water), then comes. (It) is put with the (other used, i.e. contaminated, ritual) objects. He (= the latter priest) does not become impure in any way, but he also does not become pure in any way.

And he (= the sacrificer) pours it (=the pure water) over his head. After that he pours no other water over it. Below he takes it (i.e. he catches the water in a vessel after it has flowed over his body)...

The same tablet also prescribes the ritual shooting of an arrow, probably intended to represent and achieve the removal of impurity.

The *itkahhi* series runs to more than 14 tablets which contain hymn-like recitations, of a type which, as far as we can tell, does not occur in the *itkalzi* series:

... Teššup of salvation and the ...[king(?)] of the gods / ruler of earth, king, ruler of the heaven / ruler of the rivers, god, king of the mountains / god, king of the gods, ruler of [... /], king of the ... , ruler of the lands.

The priest who conducted the *itkalzi* and *itkahhi* rites is described with a Sumerogram as "AZU" ("divination priest"; in texts from Hattuša: "incantation priest"). Along with the AZU, an important supporting role in the Hurrian magic of Asia minor is played by an enchantress, known as the "old woman" (Sumerogram: SAL.ŠU.GI). As far as it is possible to tell, the ŠU.GI rites were often very different from the AZU rites, in form (commonly 1st person sing.), in vocabulary, and in a number of magical practices and mythological allusions.

A series of more than six tablets originated with the incantatory priestess Allai-turahhe from Mukiš (Alalakh) and was intended to release someone from a spell; very similar is a series of more than eight tablets of Šalašu from Kizzuwatna (Haas/Thiel 1978). The development of this text is a particularly clear example of how an originally Hurrian text became increasingly unintelligible in Asia Minor during the empire years: at first some sections were provided with translations, but finally the Hurrian text was abandoned altogether.

A ŠU.GI ritual in which figurines of deified kings are manipulated refers to historical characters of the the Akkad period like Sargon, Maništušu, Narām-Suen, and Šar-kali-šarrī, but also to such rulers who are otherwise unknown as Autalumma of Elam, Immašku of Lullue and Kiklip-atal of Tukriš (see above p. 10). The spelling of these names points to an independent Hurrian historical tradition, originally probably oral, and so old that it dates right back to the period of the Hurrian states that succeeded the kingdom of Akkad (Kammenhuber 1974, 1976, 1978).

Apart from incantation rituals with Hurrian recitations, there are also countless rituals for every conceivable purpose; they are written entirely in Hittite, but their origins in Hurrian civilisation are quite apparent. The authors are sometimes identified as priests or priestesses from Kizzuwatna, and so the blanket term "Kizzuwatna rituals" is now the accepted title for these texts (Laroche 1971 no. 471-500). However, it is likely that many of these rituals were put together in Hattuša during the late empire period.

The Kizzuwatna rituals include one that is linked with the name of a king of Kizzuwatna, = Pallia. It is concerned with the dedication of the statue of the weather god of Kummanni, and should be considered as a special form of a cathartic ritual, since, with the help of cathartic rites, the temple and the divine statue are elevated to a state of sacred purity which

will allow the deity to take his place there.

Another ritual, surviving in various versions, is intended for a similar situation; it presumably dates back to the time of Tuthaliya "II" and contains instructions for moving the "black goddess", a form of Šawuška, to a new temple (Kronasser 1963). In the rite of "induction", the goddess is prevailed upon to descend into her new statue. This ceremony is central to many other rituals. Instructions are given for making "paths" with sacrificial substances, for calling on the deity to walk along them, and for choosing the correct rites to follow in order to mollify it. In one case, the ritual is used to attract gods from an enemy city, and so all these texts have acquired the name of "evocatory" rituals on the model of the ancient Roman "evocatio" (Haas/Wilhelm 1974).

Many purification rituals of the Hurrian type are distinguished by one particular kind of sacrifice, unknown in other texts from Hattuša and rare even in Mesopotamia: bird sacrifice, performed as an offering of blood or fire. In this context, we come across Hurrian words called "offering terms" which fall into various semantic groups, notably those connected with impurity and sin or well-being and domination (Haas/Wilhem 1974). Bird sacrifices are aimed at the gods of the underworld – although this is not specifically stated in the texts – who are forced by a cathartic ritual to receive the impurity and lock it safely away in the underworld (see above p. 57). In a ritual intended to purge a house stained by murder and perjury (Otten 1961), the gods of the underworld are invoked by name and implored to hand over the "evil blood" of the house to the "blood deity", who will take it to the underworld and nail it down.

Then he takes three birds; he sacrifices two birds to those of the underworld, but one bird to the god of the pit. He speaks as follows: "See, you ancient ones..., a cow and a sheep are not set before you. When the weather god drove you down into the dark underworld, he prescribed this sacrificial offering for you.

Bird sacrifice is already known to us from a ritual oath (Wiseman 1953 no. 126) from Old Babylonian Alalakh, which also contains Hurrian sacrificial formulae that reappear later in rituals from Hattuša. This confirms the theory that cathartic bird sacrifice was a long-established Hurrian rite. However, we lack evidence from east Hurrian territory which would indicate whether it was already standard practice in Syria before the Hurrians arrived and discovered it there. It is relevant here to mention the ritual instructions in the Old Testament, which also recognise bird sacrifice (Lev. 14, 1-8).

The "pit deity" referred to in the "incantation of the underworld gods"

quoted above is really the deified approach to the underworld, the "pit" (*āpi*), which, according to many Hurrian-Hittite rituals, the priest has to dig in order to offer up a sacrifice to the gods of the underworld and to send impurity into the earth. By contrast, the pit can also be the scene of rites of induction aimed at summoning up vanished gods from the underworld (Haas/Wilhelm 1974:154ff., 202f.). The Hurrian word for the "pit (deity)" is common in the Old Testament, for example in the account of the witch of ^cEndōr (1. Sam. 28), who is described as "mistress of an ^cob", that is, a pit, which is seen as a link with the underworld (Hoffner 1967, Ebach/Rüterswörden 1977).

And there is another cathartic rite, found in Hurrian-influenced Hittite ritual literature, which corresponds closely to one in the Old Testament: in Lev. 16 we are told how, in the course of a ritual cleansing of the temple, the priest lays his hand on the head of a he-goat, which is then led into the wilderness. This gesture of contact makes the animal the bearer of iniquity, which is simultaneously lifted from the priest. In the Kizzuwatna rituals, various versions of this "scape-goat theme" are well-attested (Kümmel 1967, 1968). They allow a whole range of animals to bear the impurities – cows, sheep, goats, donkeys, or even mice (Gurney 1977:47ff.). The technical term for the bearer of impurity is the Hurrian word *nakkušše*, "the one who has been released" (van Brock 1959). In Lev. 16 the scapegoat is driven into the wilderness "for ^cāzazēl", a word that has so far resisted interpretation (Gurney 1977:47), but which can be explained in the context of Hurrian cathartic ritual: In the ritual oath quoted above (p. 75), a cathartic sacrifice is described as *azazhum*, and in the *itkalzi* ritual (see p. 73 above), the same word, in the form *azuzhi* (Haas/Wilhelm 1974:138f.) is often associated with concepts of impurity. Since *-hi* is a common Hurrian derivation suffix, we can postulate *azaz-*, *azuz-* as a stem. The term ^cāzazēl has been attributed, without doubt correctly, to the Semitic root ^czz (Akkadian: "to be angry", Hebrew "to be strong, powerful"). This would make the Hurrian a Semitic loan-word. The interpretation of the phrase "for ^cāzazēl" (= "anger!? of the god") can be deduced from the suggestion on p. 69 that the equation of divine anger and magical impurity goes back to a very ancient religious concept.

Within the ancient Anatolian sources, many other magical practices, like turning round with an animal that is to take on the impurity in place of the candidate for purification (Haas/Wilhelm 1974:42 ff.), are confined to texts with a Hurrian background. In any case, we should always approach the attribution of magical customs to ethnic, linguistic, and cultural categories with extreme caution, because all magical thought has a common foundation of very similar assumptions which may surface in practices which,

though identical, do not have any historical connection with each other.

We know almost nothing about Hurrian rituals for the dead. A much quoted text implying that king Parrattarna was cremated (see p. 28 above) has since proved to have been misinterpreted (the first correct interpretation: Smith 1956.41 n.1; Gaal 1974, Diakonoff 1975, Wilhelm 1976b). Tušratta, king of Mittani, mentions in one of his letters to the pharaoh that he wants to build a *karašk-* for his grandfather; this would probably have been a temple to the dead or some kind of mausoleum (see above p. 34). The figurines of the spirits of the dead referred to in a Nuzi text do suggest a certain concern and respect for deceased ancestors (see above p. 57). But for an overall picture of rituals for the dead and burial customs, particularly from an archaeological point of view, we must hope for results from the current excavations in the areas of Hurrian settlement in Upper Mesopotamia.

LITERATURE.

From the very beginning, the Hurrians of the Fertile Crescent contributed to the Sumero-Akkadian scribal culture which engendered that elusive phenomenon known as the "literary" genre. It cannot be defined according to its content or whether it is, say, in the form of a poem; the criteria are really that the texts concerned were copied and recopied – often for practice – and that, taken as a whole, they represent the cultural continuum of the written heritage, the stream of tradition (Oppenheim 1977:13). They include lists of signs, "dictionaries", lists of synonyms, collections of omens and incantations, myths, epics, fables, proverbs, and more besides. Some of these categories are linked with another "stream of tradition" which we only know about as far as it was absorbed and adapted by the "literary" texts: oral poetry. The corpus of "literary" texts underwent considerable changes in the course of the 3rd and up to the end of the 2nd millennia, when it was more or less standardised and handed down almost unchanged from generation to generation until the end of Mesopotamian scribal culture.

Hurrian scribes contributed to this culture in many ways: they took over individual traditional works and used them as part of their own scribal education; they translated other texts into their own language; they adopted themes from oral or written tradition and recast them in their own language; and finally they extended the corpus of literary texts by recording their own heritage of myths and incantations.

So far, no library has been discovered during excavations in the central area of the Mittani empire. Almost all that we know about the annexation and treatment of Sumerian and Akkadian literature by Hurrian scribes comes from the texts found at Hattuša, Ugarit, and Emar. Isolated literary texts deriving from the Hurrian scribal tradition were also found in Amarna in Egypt.

Attention has often been drawn to the Hurrian role in transmitting Mesopotamian literature to the Levant and to Asia Minor. All the same, it should not be over-emphasised, because there is a mass of evidence showing that there were flourishing scribal schools in northern Syria during the Old Babylonian period which even then boasted a long tradition and which were undoubtedly familiar with the development of literature in Babylonia (von Schuler 1969). In the Late Bronze Age too, there were links between Hittite, Syrian, Babylonian, and Assyrian schools, links which the recently discovered library in Emar has suddenly thrust into the limelight (Arnaud

1977). Hurrian scribes therefore profited from a written culture that transcended the limits of language, politics, or religion. The remarks that follow are confined to works of Sumero-Akkadian origin which are distinguished by their use of the Hurrian language.

From Ugarit, we have a copy of the second tablet of the "HAR-ra=*hubullu*" series, which is arranged according to object classes; on it, one column with Sumerian words stands next to one with the translation into Hurrian (Thureau-Dangin 1931, Landsberger 1957). The Hurrian of this text deviates so considerably from that standard elsewhere in the second half of the 2nd millennium that it must be seen as a different dialect (Hačikjan 1978). Similarly, excavations in Ugarit revealed several fragments of lists, arranged according to cuneiform signs; as well a Sumerian and an Akkadian column, they contained one in Hurrian, and some of them even added parts of an Ugaritic one (Nougayrol 1968, Laroche 1968, Huehnergard 1987). The position of the Hurrian column suggests that the texts were transmitted to Ugarit via a Hurrian scribal school. A list of gods with a Sumerian, a Hurrian, and an Ugaritic column has also survived in Ugarit, and it was put down together with a list of words in four languages on the same tablet. Apart from a few variations, the surviving parts of the pantheon correspond to the Sumero-Akkadian series "AN=*Anum*" (Nougayrol 1968), and a similar list, though without the Ugaritic column, has also been found in Emar (Arnaud 1977).

I have already referred to the few remaining traces of Hurrian translations of Babylonian omens (see above p. 68). An East Hurrian familiarity with Akkadian collections of omens is indicated by a tablet bearing earthquake omens (Lacheman 1937, Weidner 1939-41), which is among the predecessors of the great canonical series of astrological omens "*enūma Anu Enlil*" (see above p. 68).

The genre of so-called "wisdom literature" is represented by an eight-line Akkadian text and Hurrian translation in Ugarit (Nougayrol/Laroche 1955, Lambert 1975, Faucounau 1980).

Of Mesopotamian epic literature, all that has come down to us in Hurrian (or, to be precise, all that has been identified among many fragments, often tiny and often incomprehensible) is the complex of stories dealing with the Early Dynastic king Gilgamesh of Uruk. Since the various tales that surrounded Gilgamesh were not recast into their final form in the "twelve tablet epic" until nearly the end of the 2nd millennium, since the older versions (Old and Middle Babylonian) are only partially attested, and since, finally, the Hurrian Gilgamesh fragments (all from Hattuša) are quite short, there is little enough to say for the present about the position of the Hurrian version(s) within the framework of the whole thematic cycle. This

much at any rate seems clear: there were at least two different compositions that told of the deeds of Gilgamesh; one of them ran to more than four tablets and was named "Huwawa" after the demon of the cedar forest who also appears in tablets 2-5 of the twelve tablet epic; the other was simply called "Gilgamesh". Considerably more text has survived of the Hittite version of the Gilgamesh sagas; this, however, does not necessarily derive from Hurrian models (Kammenhuber 1965, 1967, Salvini 1977), since an Akkadian version of the epic was already known in Hattuša in the 14th century B.C. (Wilhelm 1988). A long textual history of the Hurrian epic of Gilgamesh is evinced in the spelling (^dBIL.GA.MES), which is related to the orthographies of the Old Akkadian and Isin-Larsa periods.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

by Diana L. Stein

The material culture of the region inhabited by Hurrian speakers is as eclectic as its social, religious and literary culture. By the time of their furthest expansion in the Late Bronze Age, the Hurrians had been assimilating for at least a millennium as they spread across several cultural frontiers from the Zagros foothills to the Mediterranean coast. In no category of material culture is there a continuum of artistic expression that matches this distribution in time and space. What semblance of uniformity does exist is limited to the minor arts in the late second millennium and exceeds the boundaries of the Hurrians. Its source is, therefore, less likely to be ethnic than political and economic. International trade, which flourished as a result of the Mittanian hegemony over the northern Fertile Crescent, provided the impetus for technological innovations in the production of glass, glyptics and ceramics that were transmitted far and wide. However justified we may be, then, in speaking of "Mittanian art" rather than "Hurrian art", it would be wrong to infer homogeneity. Regional distinctions remained as new fashions and techniques were adapted to suit local tastes and traditions.

Our evidence for Mittanian art is biased and scattered, with monumental art and architecture far outweighed by the minor arts, which are concentrated at provincial sites on the eastern and western periphery of Mittani. The oldest datable settlement of this period known so far is Alalakh (modern Tell Atchana) on the Orontes in the ^cAmq plain. Once a dependency of the kingdom of Yamkhad (modern Aleppo) in the 18th century, the site was later incorporated by the Mittanian confederacy in the 15th and 14th centuries B.C.. Under Idrimi, a vassal of Parrattarna, or his successor, Niqmepa, a vassal of Sauštatar, the fortified citadel underwent major renovations. The palace of level IV (fig. 1), in contrast to its predecessor in level VII, has a more conventional plan with a central hearth room (4) surrounded by smaller washrooms and storage areas. The rectangular hearth room is approached indirectly by way of a stairway (3) and an entrance hall (2), distinguished by its monumental columned portico which opens onto a courtyard (1). This arrangement is considered a precursor of the *bṭt hilani* plan, later typical of both palaces and temples during the Assyrian period, whose origin was once attributed to the Hurro-Mittanians (Woolley 1955:110-131. Moortgat 1967:110). Columned porticos also mark two ceremonial rooms (24, 28) of the later extension built

by Niqmepa's son, Ilmilimma, which recall the reception rooms of the earlier Palace VII. Naumann saw Cretan influence in the multiple storey, the frescoes, the orthostat decoration in addition to the use of wooden columns in palace VII; a comparison which could equally apply to palace IV (1971:406ff.). The temple of level IV (fig. 2) was superimposed on the sunken cella of the altogether different temple V. Though slightly removed in location from the earlier temple VII, the temple of level IV is much the same in plan. Its entrance porch, shallow antechamber and deep cella with rebated niche aligned on a central axis conforms to a common type of temple known in northern Syria since the third millennium.

East of the Tigris, on the opposite side of the Mittanian kingdom, lies the site of Nuzi (modern Yorgan Tepe), a small provincial town in the land of Arrapha. Known primarily for its extensive archives of the 14th century, Nuzi, which was occupied continuously from the late third millennium to the third quarter of the second millennium, is also unique in providing a background for the architectural and artistic developments of the Mittanian period in stratum II. The fortified citadel encloses a palace and a sanctuary (fig. 3), which was transformed from a single temple (G29) into a double temple (G29, G53) complex during the Ur III/Isin-Larsa period. Both are arranged on the standard Mesopotamian bent-axis scheme, with the hearth and cult podium at the short south-eastern end of a rectangular room, which was entered from the northern corner, and apart from structural revetments, neither temple was altered significantly before its destruction in the mid 14th century B.C.. The contrasting furnishings of the two cellas suggested that they were dedicated to different deities. G29, with its wall decoration of glazed terracotta nails, a sheep's and a boar's head (fig. 30), zoomorphic reliefs and terracotta lions (fig. 31), was attributed to Ištar, the Babylonian Goddess of Love and War, whose association with lions extends back to the Akkadian period (see p. 70ff.). This cella also contained nude female figurines, female amulets and a unique ivory statuette of a semi-nude female in Hittite attire (fig. 4). Wearing a tall hat with curling horns of divinity, a cutaway coat and one upturned boot, she holds a Hittite battle axe in the right hand and is thought to represent Ištar's Hurrian counterpart, Šawuška (Mellink 1964). G53, marked by its conspicuous lack of contents, was tentatively attributed to the Hurrian Storm God, Teššup, one of Ištar-Šawuška's numerous partners, who headed the Mittanian pantheon and whose name is a common onomastic element at Nuzi.

The palace is conventional in its layout of small rooms grouped around large courtyards. The entrance to the anteroom (L20) and audience hall (L4/11), however, is marked by two free standing pillars of brick which may have supported a portico or canopy. Luxuriously furnished with a

sophisticated drainage system, marble paving and silver-coated copper door-studding nails, the palace is best known for its well-preserved frescoes which also adorned the private houses of prominent citizens outside the citadel walls. The more elaborate examples show figured designs in panels of solid red and grey framed by geometric patterns arranged in an architectural scheme of bands and metopes. The Hathor head, bucranium and palmette tree are recurrent motifs, which also feature in designs on ceramics, cylinder seals and plaques and reflect the current taste for foreign, in this case, Egyptian and Aegean fashions. Wall painting itself, however, has a long history in Syria and Mesopotamia from the early 6th millennium onwards and is also encountered in palaces of the Kassite and Middle Assyrian kings at Aqar Quf and Kār Tukultī-ninurta. The so-called "Green Palace" (fig. 6) at Kurruhanni (modern Tell al-Fahār) situated 35 kms. southwest of Nuzi, was decorated with a blue-green painted plaster. A fortified administrative and residential complex with a tower gatehouse (*bti babi* [Ē KĀ] Wilhelm 1980-83) and adjacent (temple-) platform surrounded by a temenos, the Green Palace is the focus of the site. The excavator thought it might be an example of the fortified rural *dimtu*-settlement (see p. 62) mentioned in the Nuzi texts (al-Khalesi 1977), although Kurruhanni is usually described as a town (URU).

Systematic investigation of the Mittanian heartland in the upper Hābūr basin has only just begun. With the capital, Waššukkanni, yet to be found, we have only the recent discoveries at Tell Brāk, perhaps ancient Taide (see p. 39), to test speculations about the culture of a major Mittanian city inhabited predominantly by Hurrians. There too the Mittanian palace and temple (fig. 7a) lie adjacent to each other, but in contrast to Nuzi, they do not represent the last phase of a long uninterrupted tradition. The construction of the fortress-palace above an older temple is seen as a deliberate act of desecration performed by an alien power such as the Mittanians, who at this time were extending their control across the northern plain (D. Oates 1987). Although heavily eroded, the palace does exhibit unusual features. The position of the major reception room (11) to the north of the main courtyard (8) and the presence of two stairways leading up to residential quarters on the upper storey are unparalleled in Mesopotamia but do compare with the palace of level IV at Alalakh (fig. 1). Also the temple, with its *breitraum* cella and shallow rebated niche located almost opposite the entrance, bears a relation to the contemporary temple at Alalakh (fig. 2), but the inset panels of engaged half-columns, which flank the niche and decorate the exterior façade (fig. 7b), have long been diagnostic of religious architecture in Mesopotamia.

Among the principal finds from the palace at Tell Brāk was a small

statue of fine-grained white or grey limestone, representing a seated male figure who but for his face, is fully preserved. The figure holds what looks like a vase in front and wears a toga-like garment, which covers one shoulder and ends in a knot at the back. This is the first human sculpture to come from a central Mittanian site. In its awkward execution and design, the Brak figure resembles the stylized statue of Idrimi from Alalakh (fig. 8), whose autobiography was inscribed posthumously across the body and face and seems to have been based on Egyptian prototypes (Dietrich/Loretz 1981). Idrimi's sombre expression and the position of his hands – the right one open against his chest, the left one clenched in a fist on his lap – are also unusual features in Syria and appear likewise to be of Egyptian inspiration (Mayer-Opificius 1981). In other respects, however, the statue falls in the tradition of Old Syrian art, though it lacks the delicate modelling and elegant line (Matthiae 1975:479, Hrouda 1985). His tall oval cap and wrap-around cloak with thick rolled hem are typical of local attire as known from statuettes, wall paintings and cylinder seals since the 18th century B.C.. It is unclear whether the statue, found broken and buried, was ever mounted on the basalt throne with relief decoration discovered nearby, but it does appear to have survived several centuries as an object of ancestor worship. The statue originally stood against a wall and its frontality is accentuated by the unproportionally large eyes and eyebrows of inlaid black stone. The same impression is conveyed by a cult relief from Assur (fig. 9), which was found discarded in a well. The central mountain god, identified by the scales on his skirt and oval cap, is flanked below by two smaller water-goddesses, who hold flowing vases, and above by two antithetic goats, which nibble on the leaves of the branches he holds against his chest. As the individual motifs all belong to the standard repertoire of ancient Mesopotamian art, the relief is distinguished primarily by its unusual frontal style and composition. Conventionally dated to the 15th century B.C. on analogy with "Kirkuk Glyptic", this relief was considered a paradigm of Hurro-Mittanian art (Moortgat 1932:62ff., 1967:115ff.; Hrouda 1971:182). An earlier date in the Old Assyrian period has been suggested, however, in light of more recent discoveries, particularly at Ebla and Tell al-Rimah, where sculptures and reliefs showing frontal figures belong to the 18th century (Klengel-Brandt 1980). From Nuzi east of the Tigris comes the abstract sculpture of a ram's head which is often compared with the stone sheep's head from Alalakh level IV (fig. 10), and the two are cited as evidence for the existence of a pan-Hurro-Mittanian style.

The Mittanian capital, it is presumed, was a centre for Hurrian art as well as a melting-pot of literary, mythological and religious traditions from the east and west (see p. 49ff. and 77ff.). Some reliefs and statues of the

late Hittite empire period and from minor neo-Hittite states in southern Anatolia and northern Syria of the first millennium were thought to belong to a Hurrian tradition which traces back to Mittani. The fact that no examples are known to have survived which might confirm this hypothesis was blamed on the unsatisfactory results of excavations in northern Syria. It has also been conjectured, however, that those motifs in Hittite and neo-Hittite monumental art, which are thought to be of foreign origin, first appeared in monumental form in Anatolia and that we should, therefore, not expect to find precursors in the Mittanian period (Moortgat 1932, 1944, Bittel 1950). The weathered rock relief near Imamkulu dated 1400/1200 B.C. for example, combines Hittite elements of dress with motifs otherwise known from the minor arts of the mid second millennium in north Syria and Mesopotamia. The Storm God in the centre, identified by an hieroglyphic inscription, is common to both Hittite and Hurrian regions, but his stance with one foot on a wagon drawn by two bulls was considered typical of the latter. Reminiscent of Mittanian period seal designs (see below) are the lion-demons beneath the three mountain gods, which carry the wagon, and the tree on the right under a winged demon.

Later in date and closer to the Hittite-Hurrian border is the libation scene from Malatya (Arslantepe) in which the Storm God arrives in a bull-drawn chariot, as before, and then stands in the pose of the Smiting god (Collon 1972) before the king. Another example of synthesis in monumental art is seen in the rock relief of the sanctuary at Yazilikaya, which culminates in a confrontation between the Storm God, Teššup, and his consort, Hepat. Its religious concepts are clearly rooted in Kizzuwatnean and north Syrian traditions (see p. 50ff. and p. 66ff.), in artistic conception, however, it is unparalleled in those regions and is presumably the product of local traditions. Related art is also found outside the Hurrian language and cultural sphere in Iran. The decorated gold bowl from Hasanlu, though found in a 9th century context, has been dated by some to the 13th century B.C. on the strength of iconographic parallels between certain motifs and the Hurrian epic of Kumarbi (see above pp. 59ff.; Mellink 1966; Barrelet 1984). According to this interpretation, the main scene depicts the birth of a mountain demon (woman holding a new-born baby towards seated male), which challenges the Storm God, who eventually triumphs. Whatever its date and direct source of inspiration, the Hasanlu bowl ultimately derived from the same cultural milieu in which the Hurrians also participated prior to their entry onto the northern plain of Syria and Mesopotamia, where the process of acculturation can be traced from the third millennium.

From the northern Mesopotamian city of Urkeš come two bronze lion-protomes (fig. 11), which protected foundation tablets of the temple

dedicated to Nerigal by the Hurrian king, Tiš-atal (see p. 15). So far, they are the only examples of artwork definitely connected with a major Hurrian centre at the end of the third millennium B.C. Apart from being curiously truncated as blunt nails, these lions bear no unusual features which might be distinguished as local or original. Both testify to an exceptional standard of craftsmanship thought to have been inspired by the Mesopotamian tradition of lion representations, particularly in Akkadian art.

Official art in the form of cylinder seals belonging to prestigious Hurrians shows that they continued to appropriate the conventions of their adopted homeland from the late third to the late second millennium B.C. The finely engraved lapis lazuli seal of the royal wet-nurse, Daguna, daughter of a woman with the Hurrian name, Tiša-dimmuzi was dated to the Akkadian period on the basis of its inscription (Nougayrol 1960). Said to come from Urkish, the seal shows a goddess with long tresses, who wears a horned mountain crown, is enthroned on a mountain and may indeed be of northern inspiration, though parallels do exist in the south. Whether or not she is to be identified with the Akkadian mountain goddess, Ninhursag, the "nourisher" of kings, as Nougayrol suggests, her flounced robe, the multiple horned mitre of the interceding goddess, the pleated and fringed garments of the women who follow and their "looped" hair style are all characteristic features on late Akkadian seals. Both the seal of a Masian-Ištar, the Akkadian servant of ^dTiš-atal, king of Karahar and that of Teheš-atal, the Hurrian scribe and servant of ^dZabazuna (fig. 12) are modelled on Ur III presentation scenes of the "Arad-zu" type, in which a worshipper stands before the seated king (see p. 11). The provincial origin of these seals is betrayed by their awkward execution and by certain iconographic anomalies. The king is seated on a throne rather than the usual padded stool, one of the worshippers is not bareheaded and neither raises his right hand, as on the metropolitan prototypes. The lapis lazuli seal of ^dZardamu (fig. 13), another king of Karahar on the upper Diyala near the Zagros foothills (see p. 11f.), adopts the iconography of kingship which appears in contemporary rock reliefs of this area and harks back to the famous victory stele of Naram-suen in the Louvre. In the tradition set by this Akkadian king and revived by the rulers of the Ur III Dynasty, ^dZardamu describes himself as divine king of the Four Quarters of the Earth (Sollberger 1980) and depicts himself in ascending posture, trampling on his fallen enemy.

Roughly contemporary is the seal of Šuttarna, son of Kirta, king of Mittani (fig. 14), which is also based on older Akkadian prototypes, but whose style reflects the Post Akkadian and Ur III periods (Collon 1975). The contest scene, first introduced as a frieze of overlapping figures during the Early Dynastic period, is epitomized at the height of the Akkadian

period as a symmetrically composed conflict between balanced pairs of protagonists. Long associated with kingship, this theme developed into the three-figured struggle depicted on the seal of Suttarna, in which an animal victim is pitted against two human assailants (Collon 1982:111). Worn and recut, we find this seal reused as a dynastic emblem by Sauštatar, son of Parsatatar, king of Mittani, on two legal documents from the mid second millennium B.C. archives at Alalakh on the Orontes.

The evidence for cylinder seals of the mid second millennium is heavily concentrated in the west at Alalakh (Collon 1982a), Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983) and in Palestine (Parker 1949). Our primary source for the glyptic of this period, however, are the seal impressions on tablets from the palace archive of Alalakh level IV (Collon 1975) and from both the palace and private archives of Nuzi stratum II (Porada 1947, Stein 1986), located at opposite extremes of the Mittanian kingdom. Nuzi, excavated earlier in the late 1920's and early 1930's, belonged to the province of Arrapha, modern Kirkuk, which lent its name to a widespread type of seal ("Kirkuk Glyptic"), characterized by the extensive, often unmasked use of the point and tubular drills. Drilled designs existed as early as the Halaf period on stone stamp seals and became a distinctive feature of late Old Babylonian seals from the mid eighteenth century B.C. onwards. By the mid second millennium B.C., this technique of decoration was applied primarily to seals of sintered quartz (frit, faience or paste), steatite and glazed clay, which were mass-produced at several centres of manufacture and found widely distributed beyond the political boundaries of Mittani from Greece to Iran and from the Caucasus to the Gulf. The drillwork created a semblance of uniformity which has tended to obscure chronological and geographic differences in both iconography and composition (Beck 1967, Dabney 1980, Parayre 1984). Among the many groups of design distinguished by drillwork, one represents an ongoing native tradition, which stemmed from provincial Babylonian and Syro-Cappadocian glyptic of the late third and early second millennium B.C. Typical of this group are ritual scenes revolving around the tree, the hunt and the drinking ceremony, in which the motifs are scattered freely in the field (fig. 15 a-b) or arranged in superimposed registers of animals above and/or below rows of worshippers, hunters, predatory beasts and their prey (fig. 16 a-c). The impression of a seal with decorated caps, belongs to the daughter of a king, an *entu*-priestess at Kurruhanni (modern Tell al Fahhār) near Nuzi, and shows that persons of high rank also chose designs of this type. Such designs and their elemental cognates ("Common style") consisting of rows of animals, birds, fish and men (fig. 17 a-h) or juxtaposed antelope, humans and trees framed by geometric patterns (fig. 18 a-h) have prehistoric roots. New are the many variations on the stylized tree of which the

so-called "bouquet" and "volute" or "palmette" trees are most common. A number of these designs have been attributed to specific workshops, notably at Nuzi and Alalakh as well as outside the Mittanian domain at Beth Shan in Palestine and Ugarit on the Mediterranean coast (Dabney 1980; Collon 1982, Schaeffer-Forrer 1983). Many, however, are too common to locate their origin of manufacture or inspiration.

Besides these simple seals, which seem to have been within the means of even the poorest classes, there were carefully executed seals of hard material, in particular haematite ("Elaborate style"). The designs of these seals are more variable and reflect court fashions which fluctuated with political and economic developments. During the brief international period at the height of the Mittanian confederacy, when trade flowed freely across the northern Fertile Crescent, elements of Egyptian and Aegean iconography, such as the winged disk, the "Hathor" mask, the "ankh" sign, the sphinx, and the griffin, filtered east to the province of Arrapha. The early Mittanian court style of north Syria and north Mesopotamia each owed much to native adaptations of Kassite-Babylonian traditions, which in the case of Alalakh, stemmed from the Middle Euphrates, and in the case of Nuzi, stemmed from the peripheral region of Elam and the Hamāh (Boehmer 1981, 1985). At Alalakh, the Kassite-Babylonian iconography is combined with Aegean elements of design in a typically Syrian composition comprising a principal and a secondary scene. The first contains full-scale figures; the second, diminutive motifs arranged in superimposed registers often divided by a spiral (guilloche) pattern. The seal of Idrimi of Alalakh (fig. 19), which was also used by his son, Niqmepa, provides a good example. The early eastern court style, composed of full-scale figures interspersed with filler motifs and often combined with inscriptions, is best exemplified by one of the seals belonging to Ithia/Ithi-tešup, king of Arrapha (fig. 20). As the Mittanian hegemony dissolved into rival factions towards the mid 14th century B.C., the cultural frontiers became more defined and the differences between the eastern and western court styles, more marked. The personal seal of Saustatar (fig. 21) draws upon the glyptic heritage of northern Mesopotamia, where the repertoire of Early Dynastic and Akkadian themes was revived and expanded by multifarious winged monsters and demons. The inverse of his ancestor's seal (fig. 14), the seal of Saustatar portrays two lions defeated by a single central human-headed lion-demon in bird costume. Created at the height of the Mittanian kingdom, this seal survived several generations as a dynastic seal used by Artašumara and Tušratta at Tell Brak (Finkel 1985; Oates 1987) and by an unknown king at Nuzi (Stein 1989). Although the heraldic composition of Saustatar's seal does occur at Alalakh on the seal of Niqmepa

or his son, Ilmilimma (fig. 22), for example, it only took root later in the east, at a time when sites to the west from Emar to the Mediterranean coast succumbed to Hittite control and cultural influence. The second seal of Ithi-teššup (fig. 23) displays many of the demons and deities which typify the late court style at Nuzi. Divided here on two levels, the demonic figures composed of lion, fish, bird, scorpion, snake and human elements, have been interpreted as creatures of the netherworld (Porada 1979). Usually, they are arranged in the ancient tradition of Early Dynastic and Akkadian designs either as figural bands (fig. 24a), as heraldic groups of predator and prey (fig. 24b), or, most commonly, as antithetic pairs flanking the winged disk-standard (fig. 24c), which is a new Mittanian feature. Apart from the nude female, who appears throughout the Nuzi glyptic, the Storm God, Teššup, becomes a popular figure. In contrast to his Syrian and Babylonian counterparts, he stands on a lion-dragon mount and holds a triple-pronged lightning fork, like his Akkadian antecedents of the late third millennium B.C. Also for the first time since the Akkadian period, we find mythological representations among the late Nuzi designs. Identifiable are scenes from the myth of a Hedammu-type dragon (Stein 1988; see above, p. 60ff.) and, possibly, the death of Huwawa from the Epic of Gilgamesh (Porada 1947; Lambert 1987).

What little we know about the glyptic of the central Mittanian court at this time, tends towards the eastern traditions. The seal design on an Amarna letter sent by Tušratta or his ministry from Waššukkanni (fig. 25) is related in iconography but unconventional in its arrangement of compartmented panels (Porada 1981), whereas that of an unknown king from Hanigalbat (fig. 26) on a letter found at Hattuša, which has been attributed to Šattuara II, conforms in both content and composition (Güterbock 1942; Klengel 1963).

Almost all groups of design at Nuzi are represented among the seal impressions from Assur (Beran 1952). Once considered a century apart, it is now clear that the Mittanian and Middle Assyrian glyptic overlapped in the 14th century B.C. (Stein 1986, 1989). Like Šuttarna, Sauštatar and their ancient Mesopotamian predecessors, the Middle Assyrian kings of the 14th century adopted and modernized the heraldic motif as an emblem of royalty. Cylinder seals and seal impressions characteristic of the Mittanian period are attested in a 13th century context at Tchoga Zanbil (Porada 1970) and on contemporary documents from Nimrud (Parker 1955, Pl XX,1), Tell al Rimah (Parker 1977, no. 42a-c) and Emar (Beyer 1980, 1982), but by this time the prevailing glyptic conventions had long departed from the "Kirkuk" tradition.

Another diagnostic product of the international Mittanian period is the

so-called "Nuzi ware" (formerly called "Hurrian ware" and "Subartu ware"); a decorative type of painted pottery named after the site where it was first found in a stratified context. Nuzi ware combines elements from a number of earlier ceramic traditions in Mesopotamia with foreign elements of design. Distributed from the Zab valley east of the Tigris to the Amuq plain and Orontes valley in the west and as far south as Babylonia, this ware is primarily distinguished by its white designs painted on a dark (red-brown to black) background, although the reverse exists as well. Despite certain similarities such as vegetal motifs and basic geometric patterns, the overall composition of Nuzi ware designs varies from site to site. In the west, at Alalakh, the emphasis is on floral motifs (fig. 27). In north Mesopotamia, geometric motifs predominate over natural ones such as birds, fish and goats (fig. 28). Among the various shapes decorated in this manner are beakers (fig. 28:e) and storage jars (fig. 28:a and m). Most characteristic, however, are the slender goblets ("high cups") with a small foot or button base, a rounded lower body but straight sides (figs. 27:a and b, 28:b-d, f-g, h-i, j and l, 29:c) and the "shoulder cups" with a similar foot, a bulbous lower body, a shoulder and a high rim (fig. 27:d). Both are delicate drinking vessels derived from Babylonian prototypes of the Isin Larsa period and are marked by their fine-grained texture and extreme thinness. In its later stages, an offshoot developed in the west known as "Atchana ware" after the modern name of Alalakh, where several splendid examples were found in 14th to early 13th century contexts (fig. 29). The suggested parallels for Nuzi/Atchana ware designs cover a broad chronological and geographical range. They extend from the sixth millennium to the mid second millennium and reach from Egypt and the Aegean to Mesopotamia. Atchana ware, particularly, is in many ways reminiscent of the Cretan Palace Style, which flourished during the Middle Bronze Age. As the bulk of Nuzi/Atchana ware was found in palaces, temples and manor houses, it too has been aptly called a "luxury ware" (Mallowan 1939, Hrouda 1957, Cecchini 1965 and Stein 1984).

Glass and glazed wares are two other characteristic luxury products which for the first time were mass-produced and widely distributed during the Mittanian period. The oldest glass factory yet excavated in the Near East is located at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, the capital of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten, who maintained political relations with Mittani. Evidence for faience production has so far been found only at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) and Emar (Meskene), both of 13th century date, but it is assumed that most palace and temple organizations were supplied by local industries (Moorey 1985:135, 150ff.). Zoomorphic amulets, figurines, beads, vessels, cylinder seals and plaques were made of faience, frit and coloured glass, which is the youngest

of the three artificial materials. The fully preserved goblet from Tell al Rimah represents a common type of glass vessel, so often found in broken fragments, which clearly belongs to the Mittanian tradition of Nuzi ware, both in shape and in the polychrome decoration. This core-formed vessel was made by winding viscous glass around a core of clay and dung. The festoon pattern was created by combing applied threads of different coloured (white, yellow, orange or amber) glass, which were then marvered into the surface. The slightly later female mask of frit comes from the shrine of phase I at Rimah. Used perhaps as furniture decoration, it has 14th and 13th century parallels extending from Mesopotamia to the Aegean. The glass inlay was set in bitumen and both the hair and the inlaid eyes and eyebrows are glazed. Glazes were first applied to terracotta (baked clay) in the 16th century B.C. Aside from bowls, pots and bottles coated in a blue-green glaze, the most common glazed objects are the terracotta wall nails from Nuzi each one of which is different. Found only in religious contexts, these nails seem to have been restricted to the cult and may have been dedicated by individuals. They served primarily as wall decoration; an idea which extends back to prehistoric times in Mesopotamia. Larger sculptures in glazed terracotta were also connected with the cult. Among the most notable pieces are the boar's head (fig. 30) and the reclining lion decorated in red paint and yellow glazed streaks (fig. 31). This is one of several pairs of lions originating from the main cella G29 of Temple A at Nuzi, which was probably dedicated to the goddess, Ištar. Glazed wares outlived both Mittanian seal designs and painted pottery, remaining in fashion through the end of the second and into the first millennium B.C.

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PLATES

THE LEVEL IV PALACE

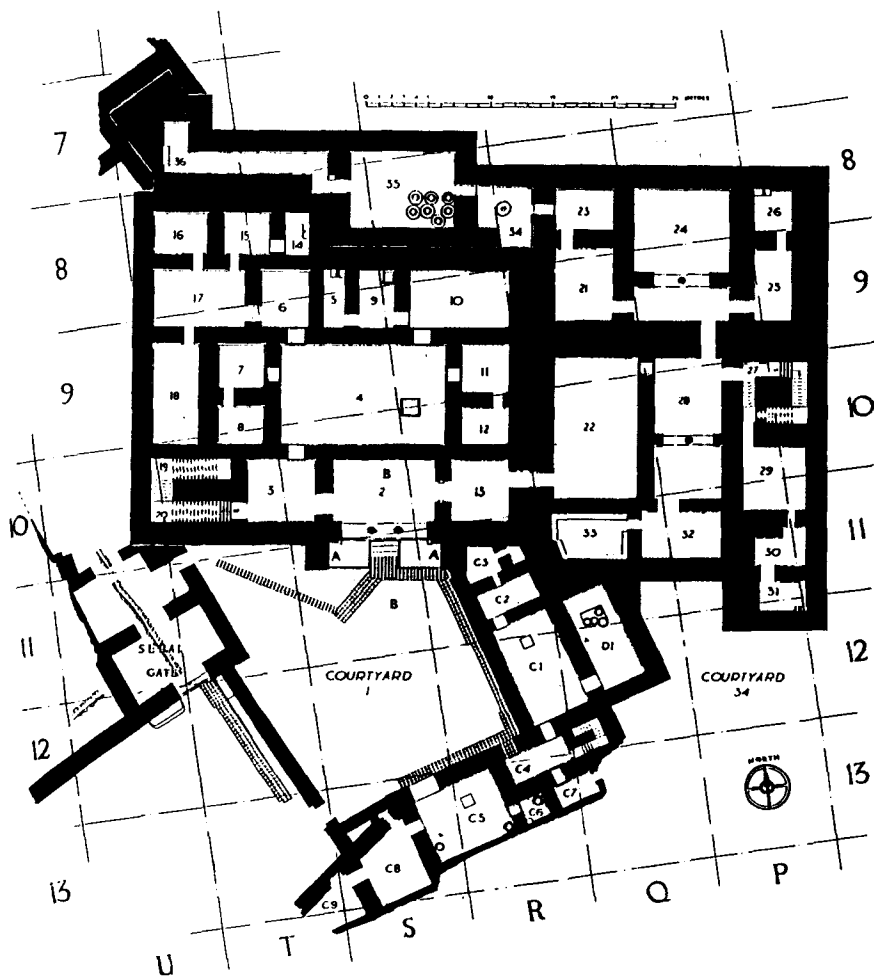
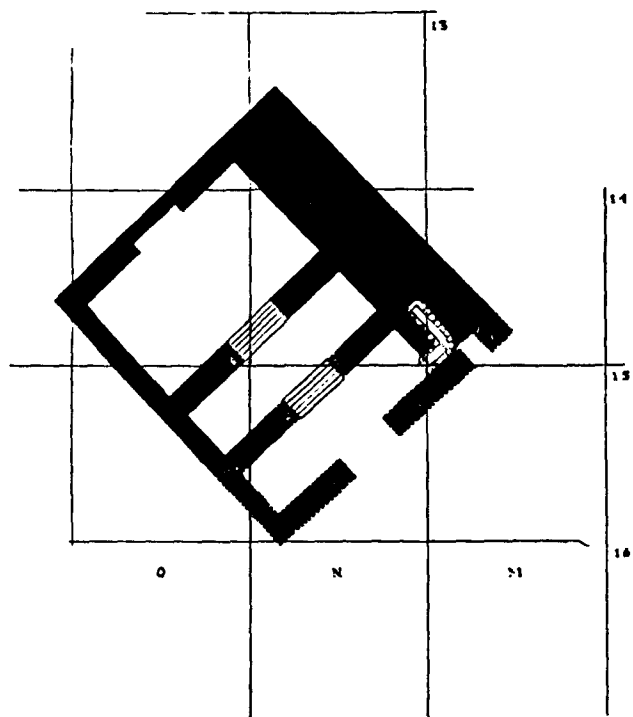


Fig. 1 Palace of Alalakh, level IV. (Woolley 1955)



Level IV temple

Fig. 2 Temple of Alalakh, level IV. (Woolley 1955)

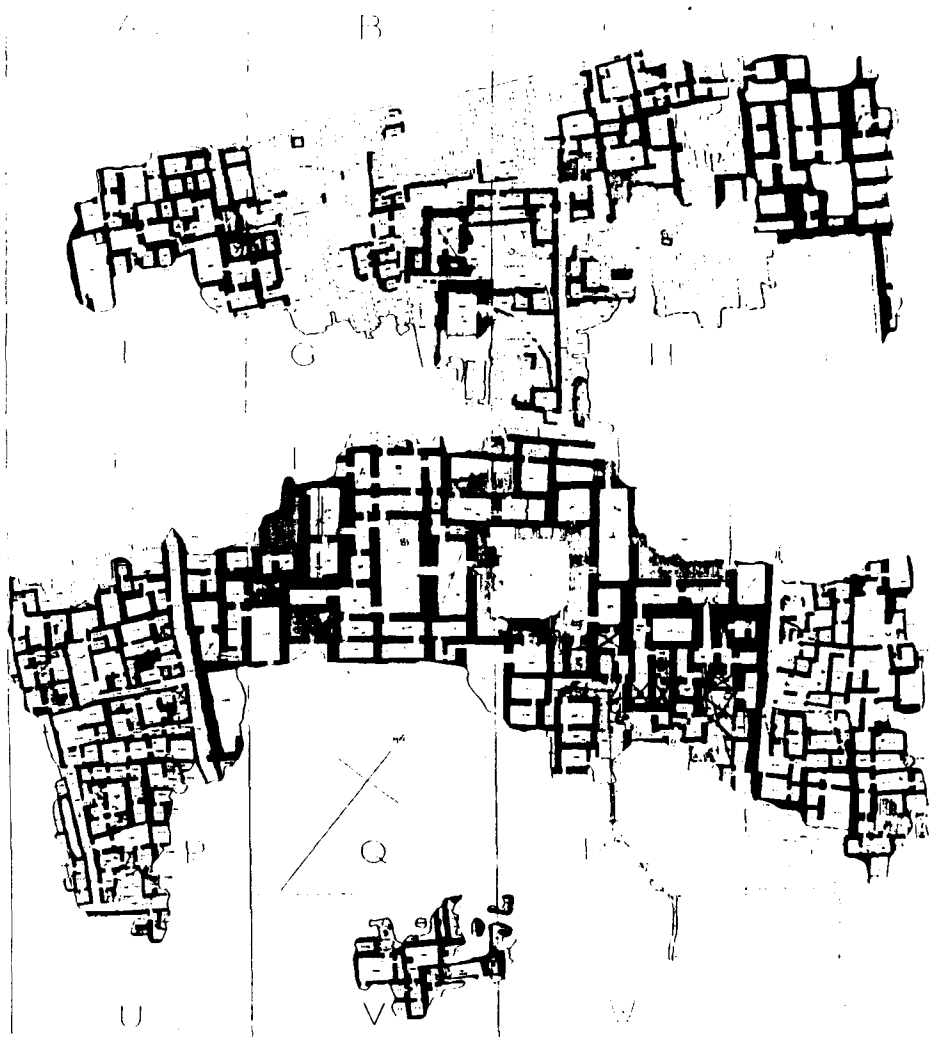
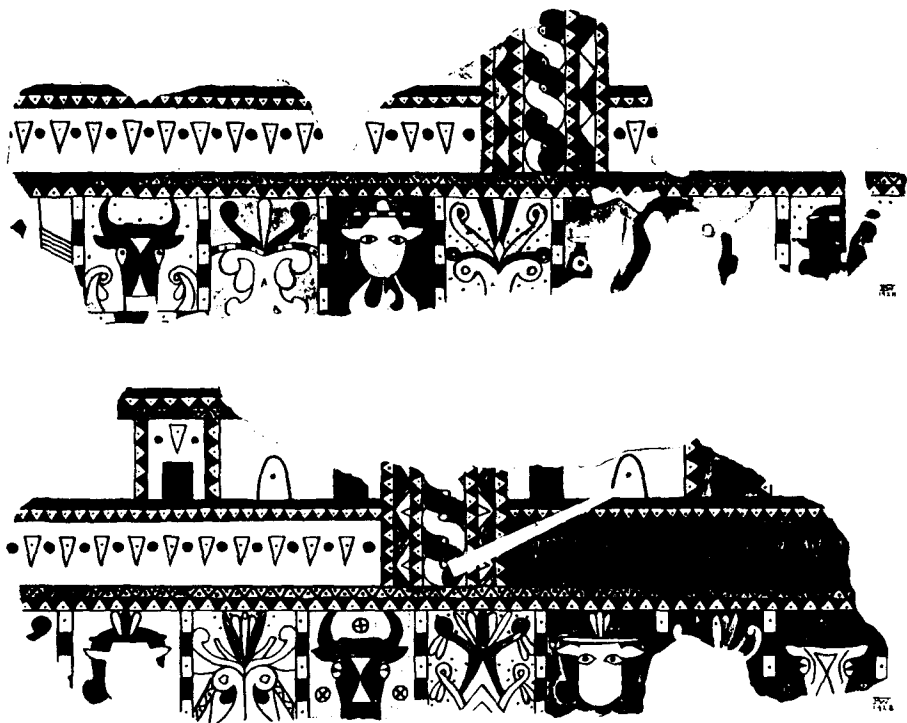


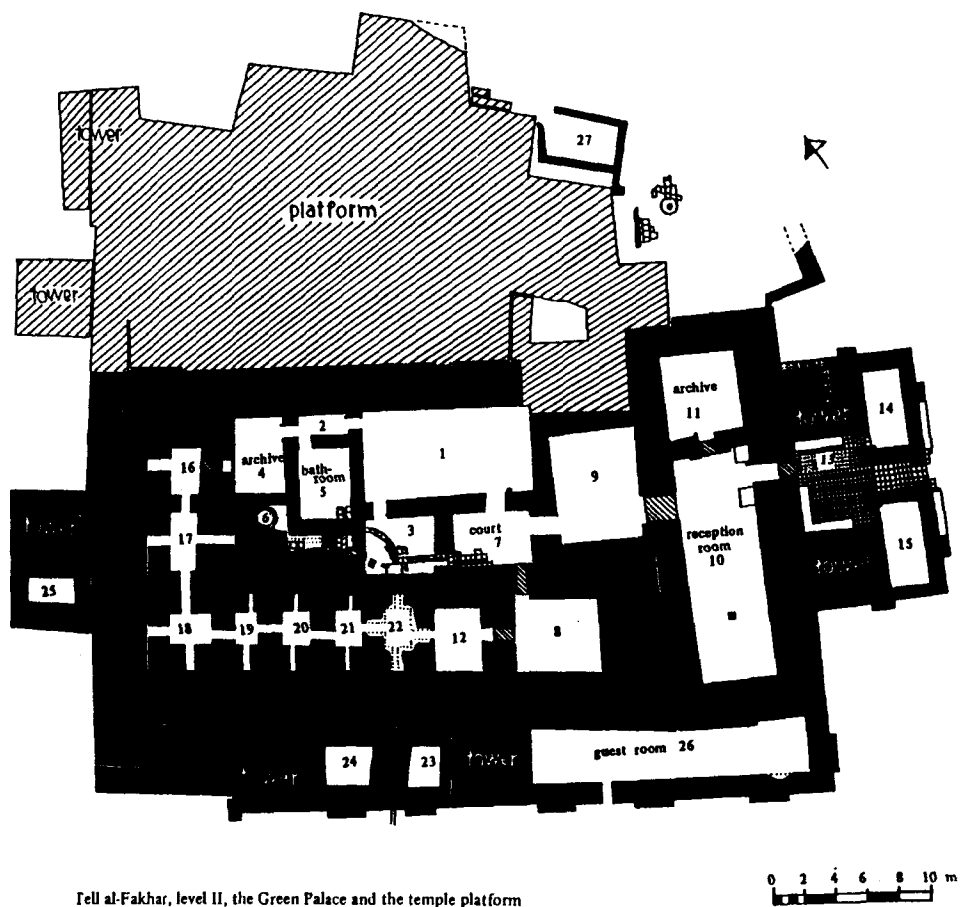
Fig. 3 Citadel Plan of Nuzi, stratum II (Palace and Temple A)
(Starr 1937)

Fig. 4 Female statuette from Nuzi (Starr 1937)



Fig. 5 Wall painting from Nuzi (Starr 1937)





Tell al-Fakhar, level II, the Green Palace and the temple platform

Fig. 6 "Green Palace" at Tell al-Fakhar (al-Khalesi, 1977)

AREA HH 1986

WALLS



PRE-MITTANIAN



MITTANIAN



TRACED ON SURFACE OR PROJECTED

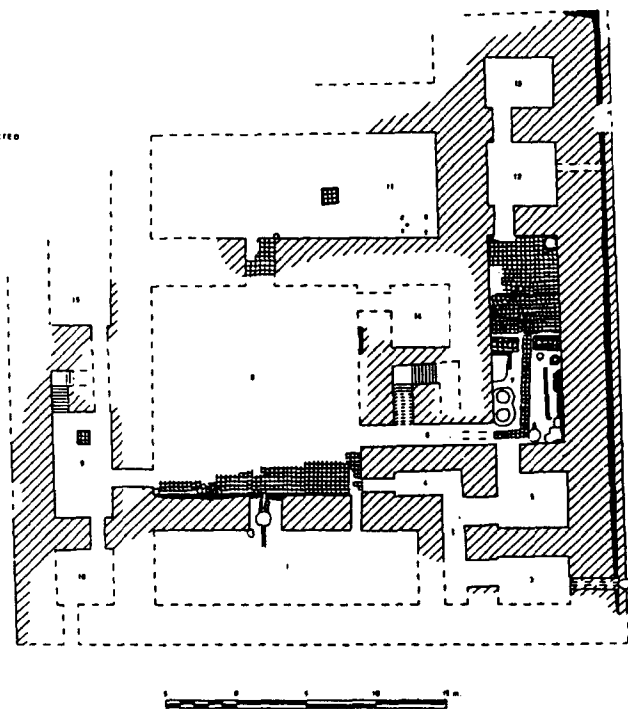
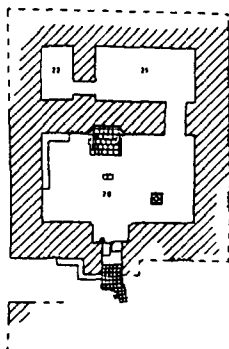
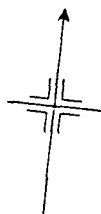
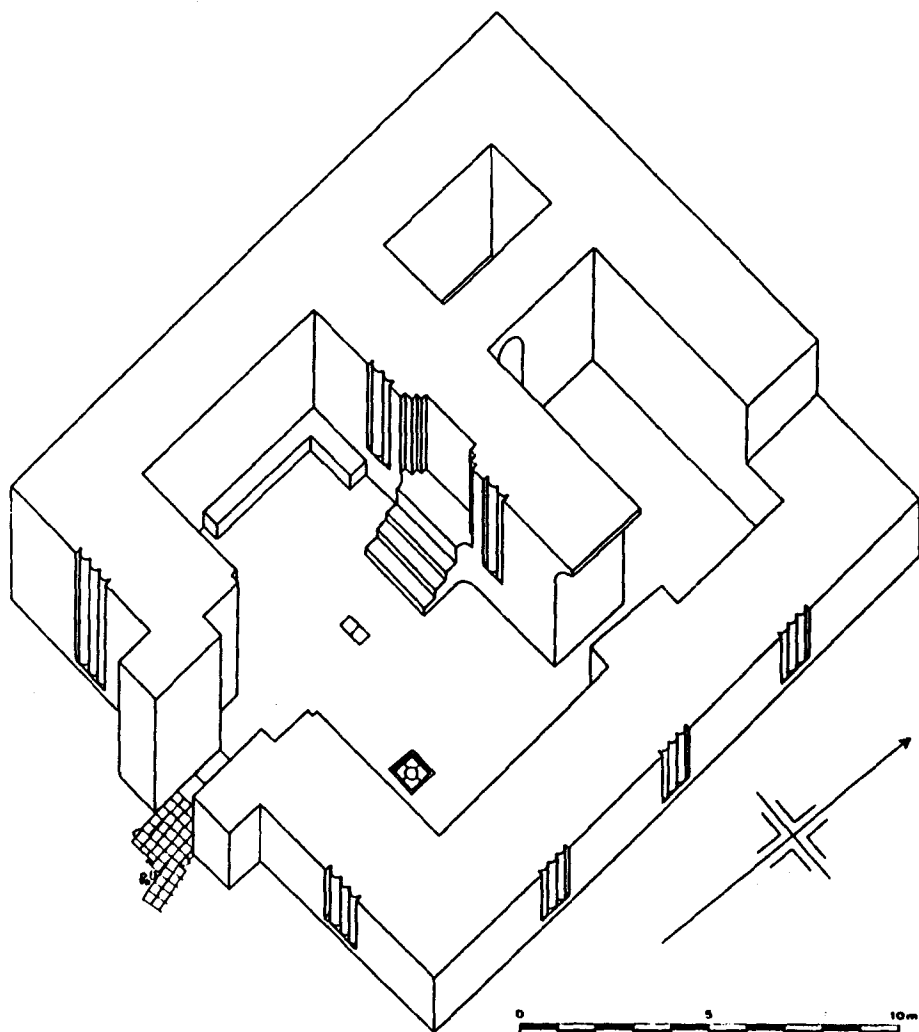


Fig. 7(a) Mittanian Palace and temple in Area HH, Tell Brak.
Plan of palace and temple



*Fig. 7(b) Mittanian palace and temple in Area HH, Tell Brak.
Axonometric reconstruction of temple*

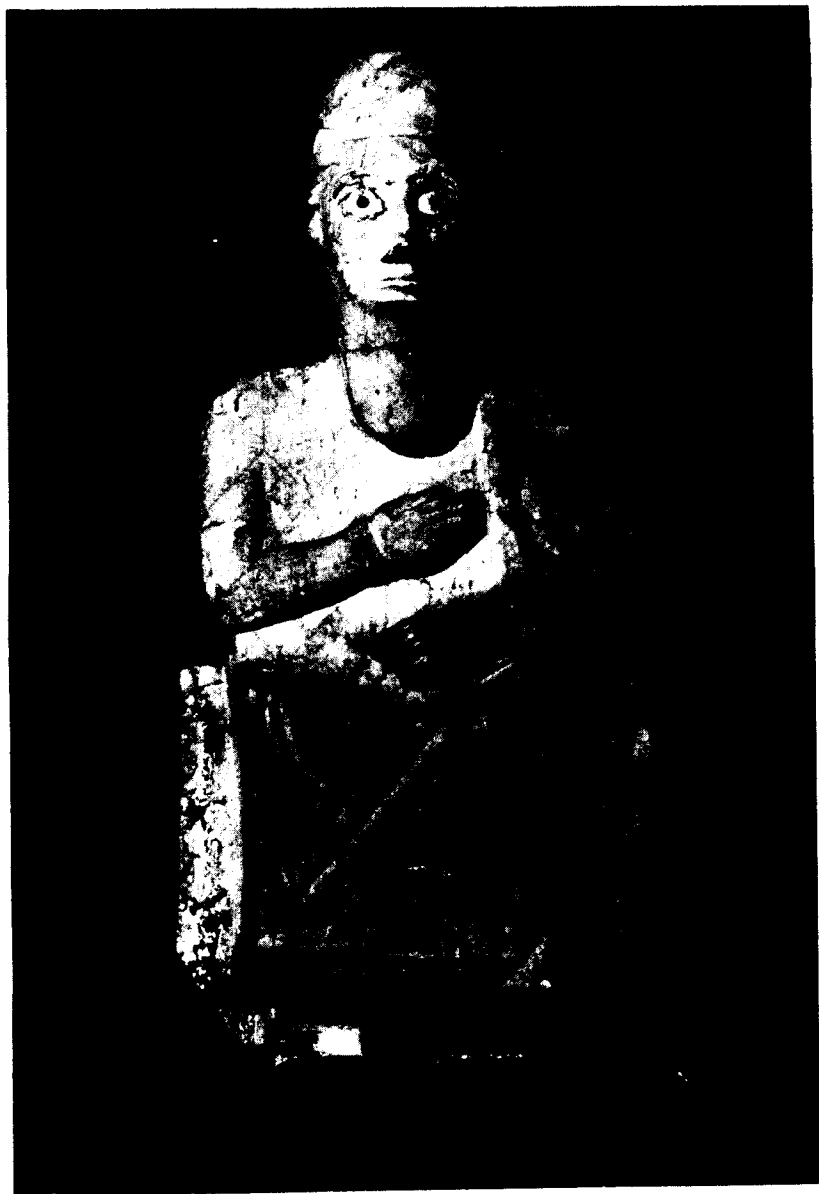


Fig. 8 Statue of Idrimi from Alalakh (British Museum)



Fig. 9 Cult relief from Assur (Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin)



Fig. 10 Sheep's head from Alalakh
(Woolley, 1955)

Fig. 11 Bronze lion protome
(Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York)



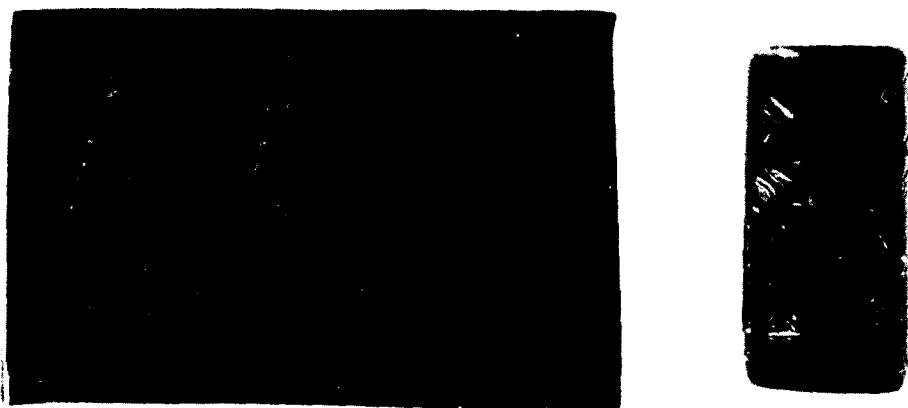


Fig. 12 Cylinder seal of *Teheš-atal*, the scribe (British Museum)
 (Legend: *Zabazuna*, strong king: *Teheš-atal*, the scribe, is your servant)

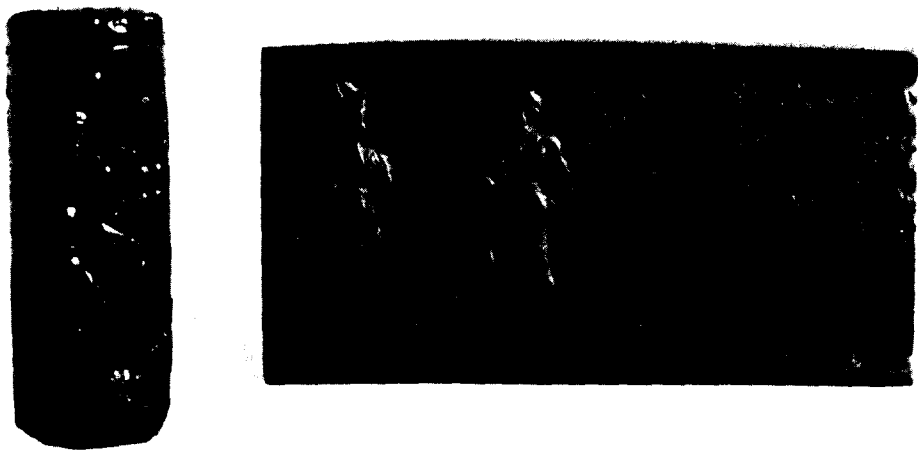


Fig. 13 Cylinder seal of *Zardamu*, King of *Karahar* (British Museum)
 (Legend: *Zardamu*, Sun-God of his land; beloved of *Nergal*, his god; *Annunitum*, his mother; *Šul-pae*, his...; [of *DN*], his...; *En-sig-nun*, who walks on his right; ...of *Šamaš*, his? *Tammuz*; strong king, king of *Karahar* and king of the Four Parts, spouse of *Ištar*)

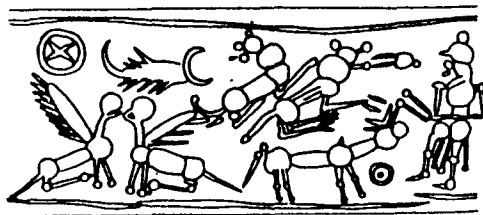


*Fig. 14 Cylinder seal impression
of Šuttarna, son of Kirta
(Collon 1975)
(Legend; Šuttarna, son of
Kirta, King of Maittani)*



*Fig. 15 Cylinder seal impressions.
(a) Nuzi (Drawn by D. Stein)
(b) Alalakh (Collon, 1982)*

a



b



a



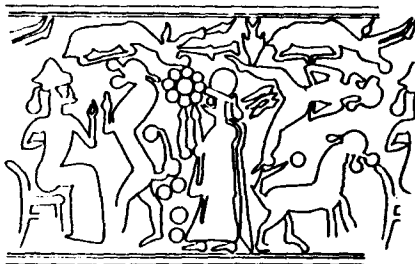
b

Fig. 16 Cylinder Seal impressions.

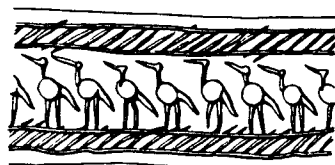
(a) Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983)

(b) Alalakh (Collon 1982)

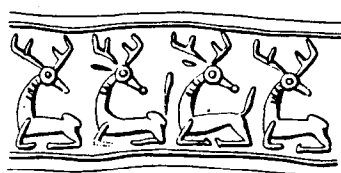
(c) Nuzi (Drawn by D. Stein)



c



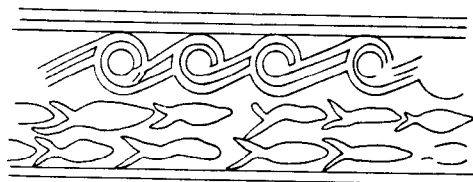
a



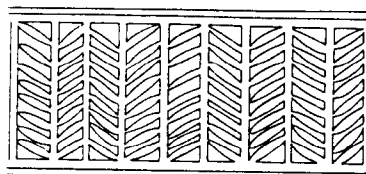
b



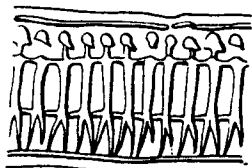
c



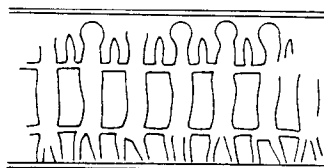
d



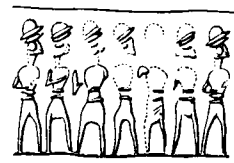
e



f

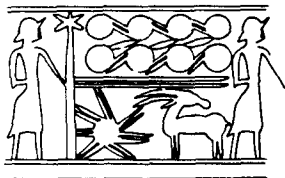


g



h

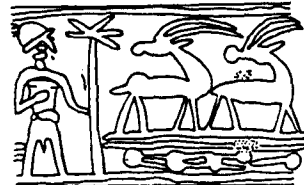
Fig. 17 *Cylinder Seal Impressions.* (a) Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983) (b) Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983) (c) Alalakh (Collon 1982) (d) Nuzi (D. Stein) (e) Nuzi (D. Stein) (f) Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983) (g) Nuzi (D. Stein) (h) Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983)



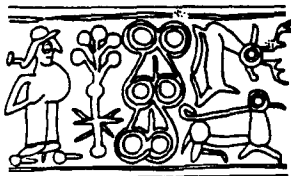
a



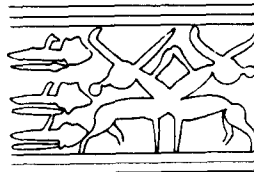
b



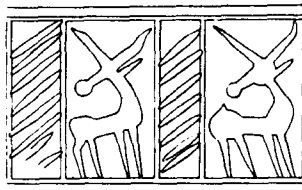
c



d



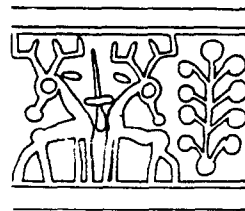
e



f



g



h

Fig. 18 Cylinder Seal Impressions. (a) Nuzi (D. Stein) (b) Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983) (c) Alalakh (Collon 1982) (d) Alalakh (Collon 1982) (e) Nuzi (D.Stein) (f) Nuzi (D.Stein) (g) Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983) (h) Alalakh (Collon 1982)



Fig. 19 Cylinder seal impression of Idrimi (Collon 1975)
(Legend; Idrimi, servant of IM)

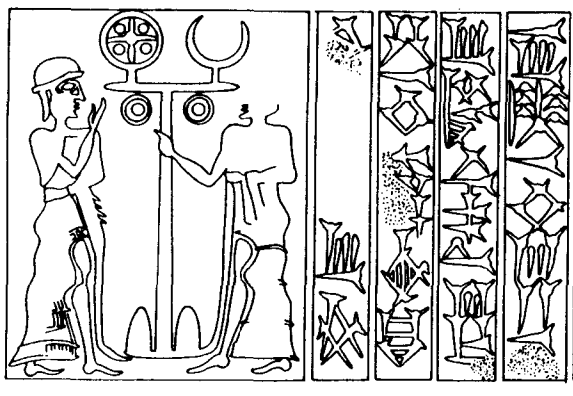
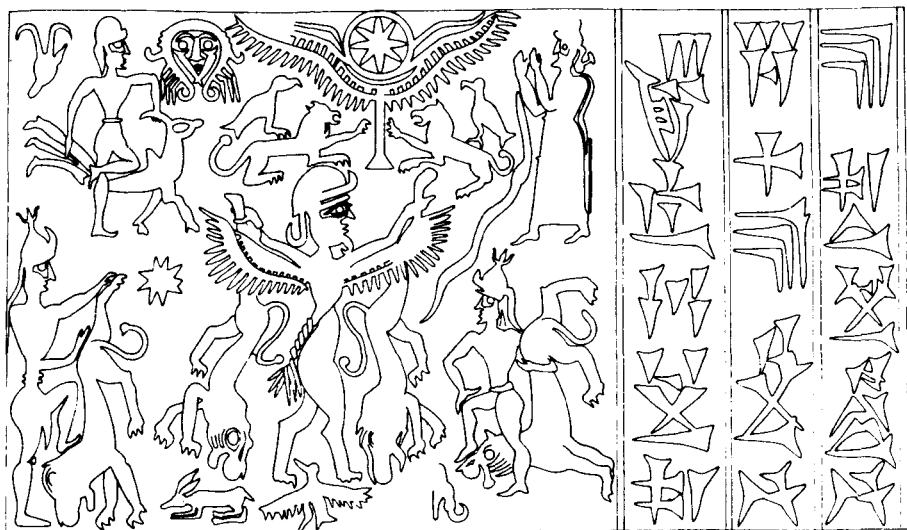


Fig. 20 Cylinder seal impression of Ithia, son of Kipi-teššup (Drawn by D. Stein)
(Legend; Ithia, king of Arrapha, son of Kipi-teššup)



*Fig. 21 Cylinder seal impression of Sauštatar, son of Parsatatar (D. Stein)
(Legend; Sauštatar, son of Parsatatar, king of Maïttani)*



*Fig. 22 Cylinder seal impression of Niqmepa or Ilmilimma (Collon 1975)
(Legend;(?), Niqmepa)*

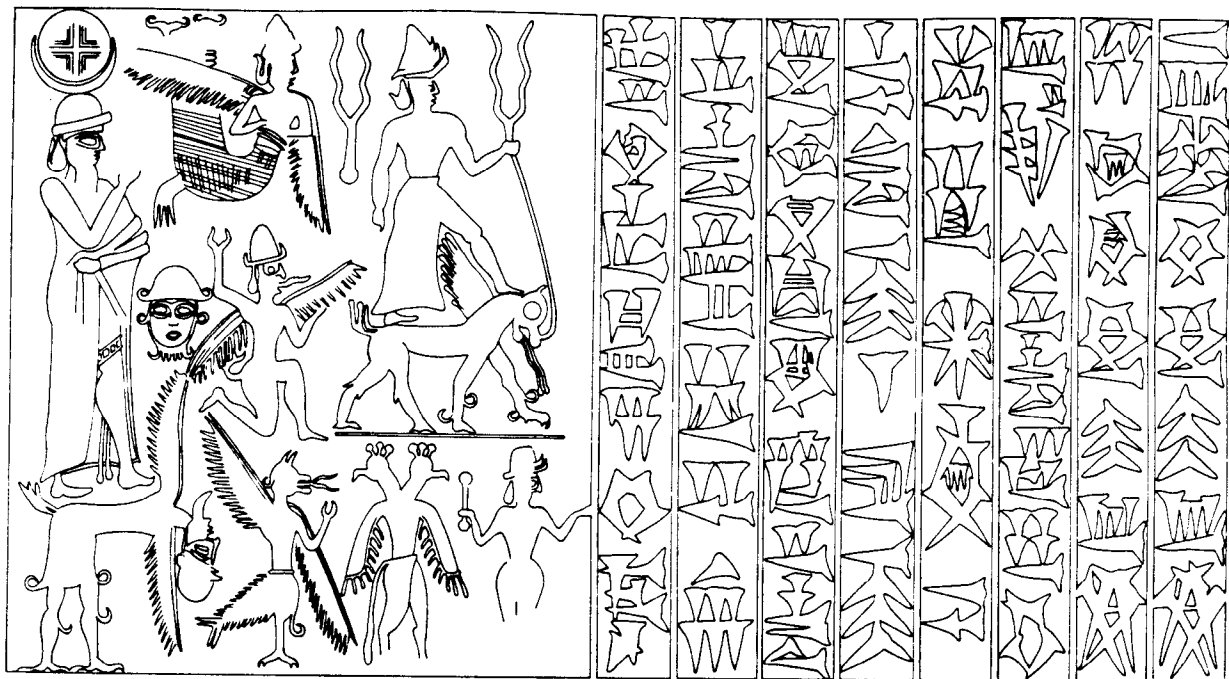


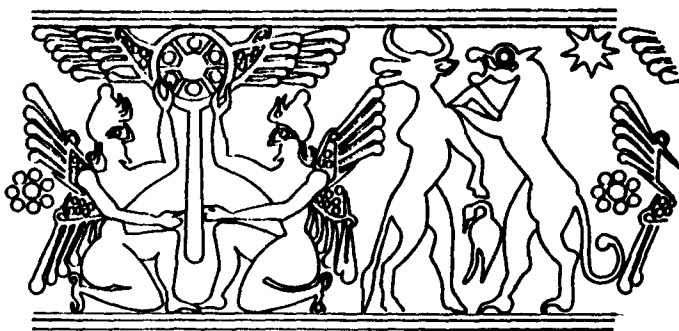
Fig. 23 Cylinder seal impression of Ithi-teššup, son of Kipi-teššup (Drawn by D. Stein)
 (Legend: Ithi-Teššup, son of Kipi-teššup, King of Arrapha rolls this seal on (tablets concerning) fields and houses which have been assigned by decree. Let noone ever break (the tablet).



a



b



c

Fig. 24 (a) Cylinder seal impression of Pai-teššup (drawn by D. Stein)
 (b) Cylinder seal impression of an administrator (D. Stein)
 (c) Cylinder seal impression of Zuja, son of Tarmi-Teššup (D. Stein)

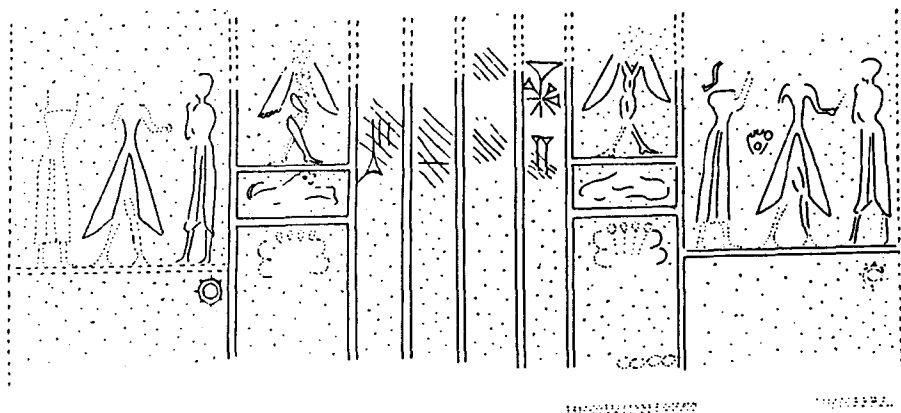


Fig. 25 Cylinder seal impression from Amarna (Porada 1974)

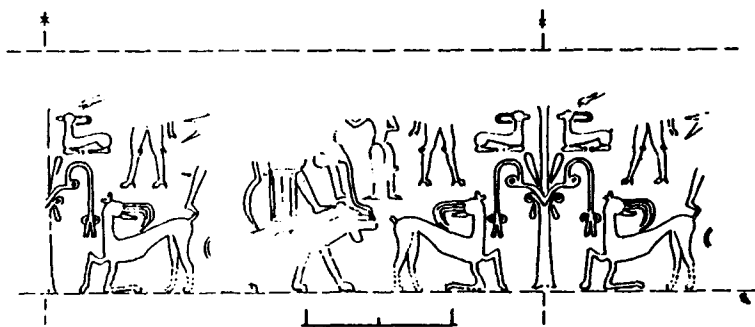


Fig. 26 Cylinder seal impression of a king from Hanigalbat (Güterbock 1942)

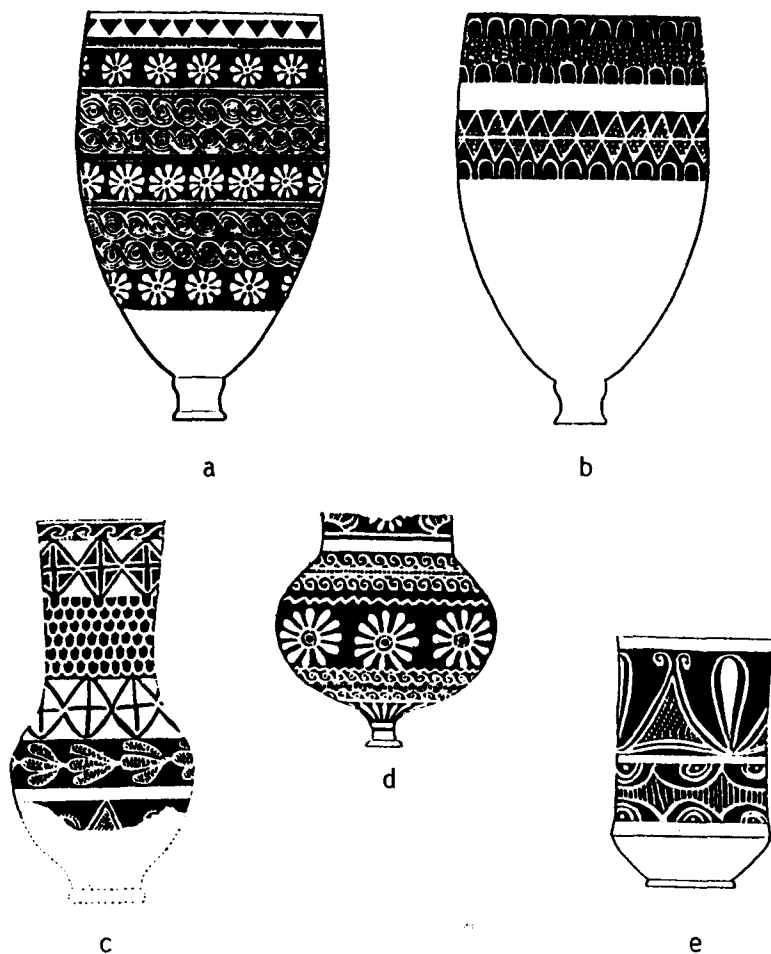


Fig. 27 "Nuzi Ware" from Alalakh (Woolley 1955)

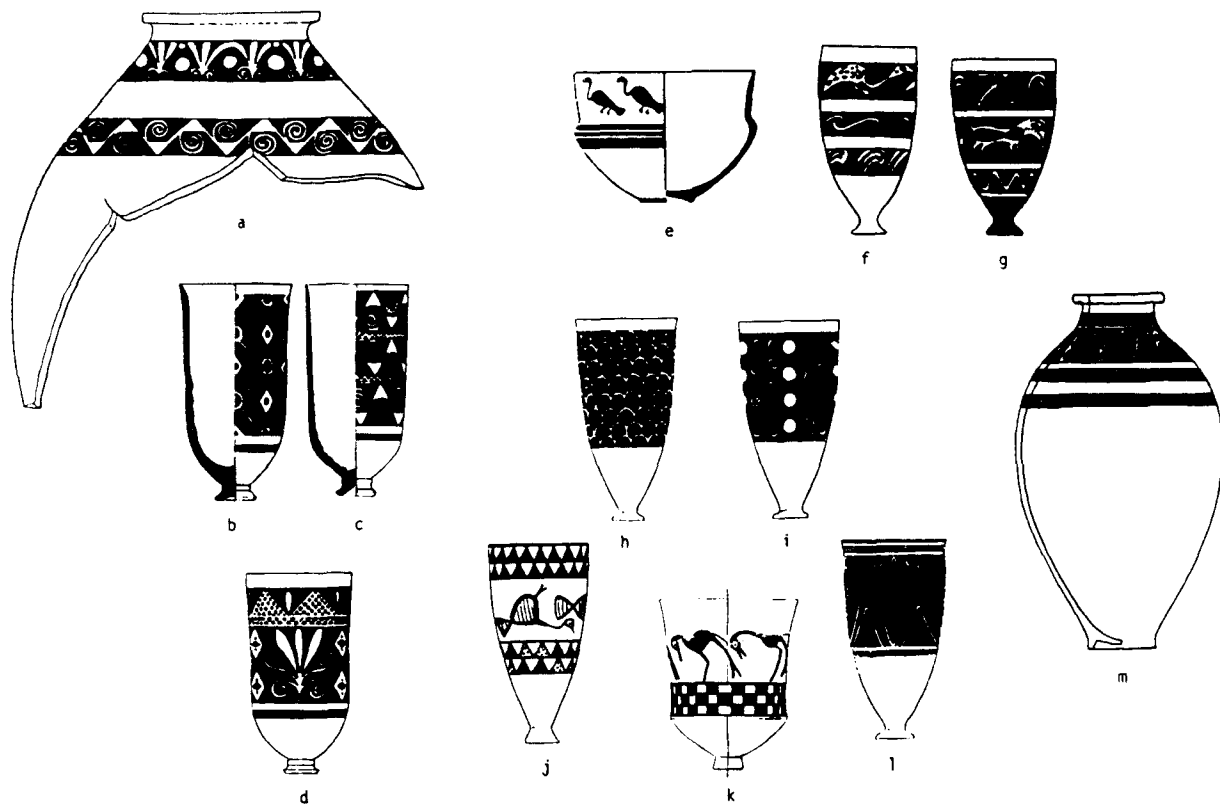


Fig. 28 "Nuzi Ware" from North Mesopotamia (a-d) Nuzi (Starr 1937) (e-g) Tell Billa (Speiser 1933) (h-l) Tell Brāk (Mallowan 1947) (m) Assur (Hrouda 1957)

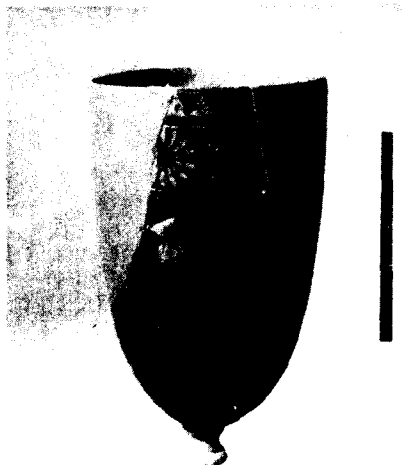


a



b

Fig. 29 "Atchana Ware" from Alalakh (14-13th cent.) (British Museum)



c



*Fig. 30 Glazed terracotta
boar's head from
Nuzi (mid 14th
cent.)(Starr 1937)*



Fig. 31 Glazed terracotta lion from Nuzi (University Museum, Philadelphia)

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